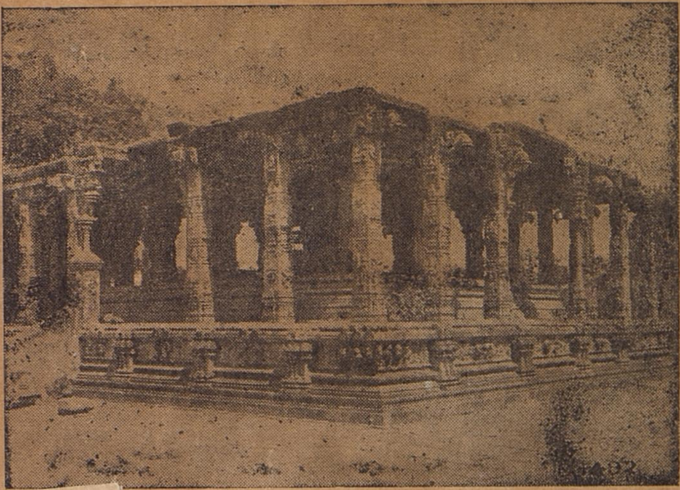
DĒVĪ KĀMĀKSHĪ IN KĀÑCHĪ

A SHORT HISTORICAL STUDY



S. 6049

1973

DĒVĪ KĀMĀKSHĪ IN KĀÑCHĪ

(A SHORT HISTORICAL STUDY)

SECOND EDITION

(Revised)

BY

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Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, Tiruchirapalli-6.

Publisher :

R. A. SATTANATHAN
The Modern Stores
Tirunelveli-6.

Distributors :

THE SRI VANI VILAS SYNDICATE LTD.
Srirangam, Trichy-6.

Price Rs. 2-50.

ERRATA

Page iii (Messages) L. 18 *Read* identify

8 L. 25 *Read* persuasion

30 Last line—*Read* full breasts ; *omit* some

31 L. 31 *Read* sādhaka

45 L. 3 *Insert* Reference No. 8 after *maṇḍapam*

50 L. 28 *Read* Ādipurīśvara

54 L. 14 *Read* tānattār

59 Ll. 7–9 *The sentence should read:* In its earliest application, Kāmakōṭṭam referred to independent shrines such as those of Durgā at Kāñchī, and of the Yakshī at Śāttamaṅgalam.

[The reader's forbearance is requested in regard to these errors and others, if any, that may have escaped the proof reader]

Preface to the First Edition.

A paper entitled *Tirukkāmakōṭṭam* read by Mr. K. R. Srinivasan of the Government of India Archaeological Survey, at the All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur Session (1946),[1] sets a new direction to the study of the evolution of South Indian temples. His conclusion, which has since been accepted by scholars,[2] is that the construction of shrines to Dēvī (Amman) represented as the divine consort to the principal deity, started late in the 11th century and has continued right up to our own times. The Amman shrine is referred to in the inscriptions as Tirukkāmakōṭṭam.

Again, in his Sankara-Parvati Endowment lectures,[3] Mr. Srinivasan points out, among other things, that Kamākshī in Kāñchī "was worshipped as a form of Ḍurgā", and "the Ādi-pīṭha Paramēśvarī temple in the vicinity of the modern temple of Kāmākshī ... ... was perhaps the original site where the Śakti pīṭha was installed, after the reformation of the worship by Śaṁkara".

This book, which is an elaboration of these conclusions, sets forth in proper historical perspective, documents, literary and epigraphic, which throw light on the history of the two temples of Kāmākshī in Kāñchī, one older in time but now shrunk into comparatve obscurity, and the other of a later age,

grown into All-India importance, both of which rose over the debris of centuries-old Jain and Buddhist institutions.

The evolution of a large temple-complex in South India is the resultant of several factors. Dynastic changes were reflected in its reshaping and enlargement in conformity with the political power and military might of the kings and their great achievements, and the affluence of merchant and trade guilds coupled with the cultural maturity of the age and the artistic and architectural norms which it established. The interaction of religious movements led to complexities in ritual worship, to the multiplication of *āgamas* and other treatises on rituals, and to the considerable additions to the pantheon, evidenced in the set-up of the *parivāra* deities.

This book indicates the impact of three main movements of Śaivism, which have relevance to the two Kāmākshī temples in Kāñchī. The earliest was the Lakulīśa (Pāśupata, Kālāmukha etc.) cult. Then came the Lakshādhyāyī-Gōlaki movements which established monastic centres, the heads of which wielded enormous influence in the royal courts, which they used to bring about radical changes in the organisation of temple rituals. The āchāryas of the Gōlaki santānams, adopted Vēdic rites of worship and claimed that their teachings contained 'the essence of the Vēdas, Purāṇas, Samhitas and Āgamas'. The reforms they brought about completed Śaṁkara's work of modifying the extreme forms of Kālāmukha

worship. Even today there are Śivāchāryas of the Gōlaki santānam. The Śākta section of this santānam was strengthened by the migration to Kāñchī of several families from the banks of the Narmadā; an important section of them, who came to be known as Kāmakōṭṭiyar, attached themselves to the present Kāmākshī temple and served as archakas and tānattār, adopting a special *kalpa* of *Śrīvidyā*. All this illustrate but one phase in the growth of a complexity of monasticism on the one hand and ritualism on the other of the Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Advaita persuasions in the socio-religious history of South India from about the 13–14th century. Here is a fascinating field of study for scholars to pursue.

Correspondingly, on the popular side, there grew up a vast body of legendary literature, with a large admixture of myths, under the name of *Sthala Purāṇas*, relating to the provenance of temples, their gods and goddesses, their trees and tanks and to the modes of worship and the schemes of festivals.

I am convinced that one's faith in temple worship as a help to spiritual *sādhana* should not conflict with any purposeful endeavour to make the vestiges of the past tell their true story. Every movement or institution that has for its object human uplift is an expression of a Divine purpose which manifests itself at all times—in the present no less than in the recent or hoary past. It is not age that lends sanctity to a temple but the dynamic faith and piety of its saintly votaries. Ideas such as these partly underlie the genesis of this little book.

To receive messages of generous appreciation from Indologists and savants of the standing and eminence of Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan is a highly rewarding experience. I offer them my respects. To all those who helped me with photographs and pictures with permission to reproduce them in this book, and particularly to the well-beloved scholar friend who gave me photographs from his private collection, I express my sense of obligation. The Sri Vani Vilas Press has actively cooperated with me in the elegant production of the book and thanks are due to them.

Tiruchirappalli-8,
January 15th, 1968.

K. R. Venkataraman.

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1. *Proc. A I. O. C.* XIII Session: Section *Archaeology* pp. 50–56.
2. *cf* K A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Colas* II Edition 1955 p. 715.
3. Published by the University in the *Journal of the Madras University* Vol. XXXII No 1, July 1960.

Preface to the Second Edition.

In this edition, I have made some additions. I had occasion to peruse the script of a monograph, rather an assortment of divers topics, which might be grouped under the heading 'Kanchi and Samkara'. I was not interested in any of them except the part which carried some superfluous comments on *Dēvī Kāmākshī in Kāñchi*. To answer them I had to elaborate some of the data in this book, and occasionally digress from the main topic to provide suitable elaboration wherever necessary. To ascertain when *Ādi Pīṭhēśvarī* or the old Śākta Kāmakōṭṭam originated I felt it necessary to determine the period of the three great Nāyanārs—Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar and discuss my conclusion at some length.

I am happy to acknowledge the collaboration of my brother, Mr. K. R. Srinivasan, who carefully read through the manuscripts, added appropriate notes and saw the book through the Press. The valuable assistance given by Mr. J. Subramania Aiyar of Gobichettipalayam was a great source of encouragement. Out of respect for his innate sense of modesty, I content myself with a meagre expression of gratitude. I should thank Mr. C. Rajam and the scholars associated with him who helped me with correct references to some of the Tamil passages reproduced in this book.

I may be permitted a personal note. I belong to the Attiyūr (Kāñchī) group of Ashṭasahasram families who originally migrated from the banks of Narmadā (See pp. 53 and 54). Leaving Kāñchī after some generations had lived there, my immediate ancestors settled in the Tiruchirapalli and Tanjavur Districts, but I still continue to be a chip of the old Kāmakōṭṭiyār block. An inquiry into the history of Kāmakōṭṭam cannot fail to have a nostalgic interest for me.

Madras - 28
March 1973 } *K. R. Venkataraman.*

MESSAGES

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,
Director,
Institute of Traditional Cultures,
South East Asia-(UNESCO).

"Nilesvar"
Edward Elliots Road,
Madras-4.
10th January, 1968.

Sri K. R. Venkataraman, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Pudukkottai State, compiled a three Volume Gazetteer of the State and he is also known for other works of a historical nature. It is a pleasure to see him continue his activities even now. The present work of his with 11 sections contains copious and up-to-date references, both from Samskrit and Tamil sources and is a searching analysis of the significance of Tirukkāmakōṭṭam, a part of present Kāñchīpuram, the Kāmākshī temple area of a later date. He discusses the various meanings of the terms, Kachchi, Kāñchī and Kāñchittānam in the light of the extensive sthalapurāṇas and ancient literature. Kāñchī was a centre of both Jainism and Buddhism. The name Jīna Kāñchī is even now prevailing in the neighbourhood. The remnants of some of the idols found in Kāñchī are traced to those of Mahavira, Buddha, Tārā and Jaina Yakshi. With the decadence of those religions consequent upon the Hindu renaissance in South India in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D., the Tāntric Śaktism developed there. The pace of its rapid spread was quickened due to the influence of Śrī Śaṁkarāchārya and the Śaivite and Vaishṇavite Teachers. The author traces three stages

of its growth and emphasises that most of the panels found in the temples there underwent suitable changes consequent on such a religious revival. With the advent of sthānattār or Brahmins of Kauśika, Kauṇḍinya and Paurukutsa Gōtras into the area, the cult was perfected. The history of the two temples of Kāmākshī and of Ekāmbaranātha is vividly sketched. This unbiassed and fully documented account bears evidence of the sincerity and depth of knowledge of the author and of his earnestness to produce a truly historical sketch. The retrospect in the last section (Section XI) is a good resume of the entire work.

K. A. Nilakantan.

Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR,
Formerly Vice-Chancellor,
Dacca University.

4, Bepin Pal Road,
P. O. Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
9th January, 1968.

...... I have read your booklet, *Dēvī Kāmākshī in Kāñchī*, with great interest and profit. You have done a great service to Indology by a scholarly treatment of the two temples of Kāmākshī in Kāñchī by utilising the available literary and epigraphic sources. It is an interesting and important contribution to socio-religious study in so far as it delineates the absorption of the main features of a decaying cult into those of a renascent period. I am sure the value of your study will be appreciated by the scholars as well as the general public.

R. C. Majumdar.

T. P. Meenakshisundaran,
Vice-Chancellor,
Madurai University.

UNIVERSITY BUILDING,
MADURAI-2.
15th February 1968.

It is with great interest that I went throrugh the historical study on the Dēvī Kāmākshi, written by Thiru K. R. Venkataraman. It has utilised all the available literary and epigraphical evidences, and therefore the book is a fully documented socio-religious historical study. The word Kāñci occurs in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and it is a Tamil word denoting a particular kind of a tree from which the place had received its name. Kāmākṣi, the well-known Deity of Kañci, is popular all over India. "Kāmak kaṇṇi" which is a Tamil equivalent of Kāmākṣi is also the name of a famous poetess of the caṅkam age Akam 22 and 98). Mother worship is very old in the world and especially in South India. Ancient Tamil works like *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* identity all these forms of mother worship with the worship of the Śakti in the temple. This shows the importance and popularity of mother worship ... ... Kāñci, which was famous for its Buddhist and Jain traditions became as a result of the development of Kāmakkōṭṭam, the real centre of a pan-Indian culture absorbing all that was living in the vanishing cultures of Buddhism and Jainism Traditions refer to the influence of Śankara in reforming and re-establishing the non - Sanskrit culture and worship into a well-harmonized Indian culture. The Śakti cult at Kañchi thus repesents

the quintessence of the various cultures which were once supreme in this part of the country through its various fortunes. This book brings together all the relevent data for this kind of study and I have great pleasure in congratulating the author.

T. P. Meenakshisundaran.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan,
Former President of the
Indian Union

"GIRIJA"
30, Edward Elliot Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4.
March 8, 1968.

... ...

Thank you for sending me your publication 'Devi Kamakshi in Kanchi'. It is a very learned and well-documented piece. I enjoyed reading it.

... ...

... ...

S. Radhakrishnan.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. R. E. — Annual Report on Epigraphy.

(This abbreviation is usually omitted and the number of the inscription and the year of the report alone are given : *e. g.*, 355 of 1955—6.

I. A. — Indian Antiquary.

M. A. R. — Mysore Archaeological Report.

Proc. A. I. C.— Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.

S. I. I. — South Indian Inscriptions.

S. I. T. I. — South Indian Temple Inscriptions.

T. T. D. Inscriptions — Tirupati–Tirumala Devastanam Inscriptions.

TRANSLITERATION

ā, ē, ī, ō, and ū are the long forms of a, e, i, o and u respectively.

ṭ and ḍ stand for ट् and ड्.

ḷ for ळ् - ள், ḻ for ழ், ṇ for ण् - ண், ṅ for ङ् - ங்,

ñ for ञ् ஞ், and ś for श्.

In kh, gh, ch, th, dh, ṭh, ḍh, ph and bh the aspirate should be stressed.

Transliteration marks are not given to words much too common in modern use.

ṛ for ற and ऋ

DĒVĪ KĀMĀKSHĪ IN KĀÑCHĪ

(1)

Kachchi (கச்சி) is the original name of the city now known as Kāñchīpuram, and it occurs in all the Śaṅgam works, in the *Divyaprabhandam* of the Ālvars and frequently in the *Tēvāram* hymns. The epic *Maṇimēkalai*[1] has a chapter entitled *Kachchimā-nagar-pukka kādai* wherein occasionally the form *Kāñchī* also occurs. By about the 14th century *Kāñchī* had become the prevalent name of the city though the old form *Kachchi* still continues to be used in Tamil works.

Kāñchī reads like a Samskrit word, and scholarly ingenuity derives it from the root *Kañch* (कञ्च् = to shine), and popular fancy invested it with several legends, one of which is that the city got this name because it is the *navel* of the world. This legend cropped up from one of the meanings of the Samskrit word *Kāñchī*, a waist-band.

The word would however appear to have a Tamil origin. In the *Tirukkurippu-t-toṇḍar purāṇam*, Śekkilār mentions *Kāñchittānam*[2] as a place full of kāñchi trees, and another verse[3] begins with the words தண்காஞ்சிமென்சினை (taṇkāñchimenśinai). It is therefore likely that the place got its name from a particular tree which grew there in such abundance that 'the fields were fenced with them'. The

commentator[4] says that kāñchi is the mango tree. In later Tamil works the place is called *Ekāmbaram*, after the *liṅga* in the big temple, under a mango tree.

Ēkāmranātha, the present form of the name of the Siva liṅga, has an interesting story. The original name was *Ēkamban*, or simply *Kamban* which would suggest that this symbol of worship was a stele or pillar, which in this case, must have been originally of wood but later altered into a mound of earth and then as an *ashṭabandha*—a fabrication of eight ingredients. This is a Śaivite version of the *Ē-kamba* or the flaming *triśula* representing the *triratna* pillars, or of the *āyaka* pillars associated with Buddhist worship. 'Ē' in the word signifies *lofty*. The Nāyānārs refer to the God here as Ēkamban or Kamban, and the *Tēvāram* occasionally refers to *Periyakamban*, the Tamil equivalent of *Ēkamban*. From literary and epigraphic evidences it is clear that this divine symbol was called *Ēkamban* or *Kamban* till about the 12th century. By the time of Śekkiḻār, the divine symbol, taken in association with the mango tree, came to be called *Ēkāmbara* (Sams: *Ēkāmra*), though the old form still continues to be used especially in Tamil works.[5]

The legend associated with Kamban forms the material part of the Śaivite version of the *Sthala Purāṇa*. Umā is said to have come down to the world of the mortals to expiate for a sin by worshipping Siva in the form of a liṅga. She heaped handfuls of sand in the bed of the Kambai stream and worshipped it according to Āgamic rites. To test the

constancy and depth of Her devotion Sivā caused a roaring flood in the stream which threatened to wash away the sand liṅga. Prompted by Her instinct, Umā held the liṅga in close embrace imparting on it the marks of Her breasts and wristlets. Pleased with Her devotion Śiva granted Her several boons. Closely associated with this is another legend. Once in sport Umā covered Śiva's eyes with Her hands. Lo! the universe was shrouded in impenetrable darkness. This brought on Her a curse and the golden-hued Umā became dark in complexion (Kāḷī). One of the rewards that She won from this worship was that She would regain Her bright complexion after a period of penance. These legends represent a mixture of floating traditions and legends common to several places in South India to all of which the Kāñchi story added the adventitious aid of a flood. Earlier versions of the legend like the one narrated by Sundarar do not mention the presence of a mango tree in the vicinity which was a later addition. When Śekkilār wrote the *Periyapurāṇam* the legend was complete.

Shorn of all mythical covering, the fact remains that to an earlier worship of Kāḷī was later added the worship of a goddess of a brighter hue. We get the Śākta version of this in the *Kāmākshililā-prabhāvam*[6] (ch. VII) which narrates that the Dēvī as the dark Bhairavī slew Bhaṇḍaka and then, assuming the form of a golden-hued girl of five, commanded the gods to cast an idol representing Her new form which, when finished, was worshipped as Rāja Rājēśvarī.

NOTES

1. *S'ilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* belong to a time much later than the Saṅgam age—about A. D. 800.

2. V. 75

3. V. 86

4. *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam (Periya Purāṇam)* Vol II published by the Kovai Tamil Sangam (Coimbatore)-1940 with the commentary of 'Śivakkavimani' C. K. Subramania Mudaliyar.

The āṟṟupūvaraśu (ஆற்றுப்பூவரசு)—Fam. Malvaceae, is also called kāñchī.

5. For a fuller treatment of this subject see V. Ramanatha Aiyar., *Development of the Name and Composition of a Divine Symbol at Kanchi* published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin.*

6. *Pañchadasi*, said to be a part of *Sanatkumāra Samhita* of the *Skānda Purana*, and *S'atādhyāyi*, said to be based on the *Brahmānda*, and *S'iva Purāṇās*, constitute the *S'iva Kāñchi Māhātmya*. They have been translated into Tamil (18th century). An examination of the original Samskrit Purāṇas shows that these do not occur in them. (See V. Ramanatha Aiyar: *Op. cit.*). The *Kāmākshilīlāprabhavam* also is a late work.

There is a Vaishṇava version of the *Māhātmyā* which does not tally with either the Śaiva or Śākta versions. All these are full of sectarian bias.

* * *

Scholars are of the opinion that the name Kāñchī came to be applied to Kachchi sometime in the sixth century A. D. The name, says T. G. Aravamuthan, "is a migration from somewhere to both the Krishna and Pālār regions". He quotes fourteen examples of places in different parts of the country in the names of which Kāñchī is an element. From about the middle of the

fourth century there existed a Kāñchī "immediately to the south of the Krishṇā as it reaches the sea" and about the middle of the sixth century the name was applied to Kachchi on the Pālār basin. In both regions "the name is that of the capital of the early Pallavas—of the earlier members of the line in the northern region and of the later members in the southern region".

(T. G. Aravamuthan., *The Early Pallavas of Kāñchī*, Jubilee volume of the Archaeological Society of South India–1962).

Villages bearing the name Kāñchī are mentioned in some old Tamil works. (*e. g.*) Kāṇchiyūr in *Agam*, and Kañchiyūran (the man from the village of Kāñchi) in *Kurundogai*. These places were named after the kañchi tree. Noyyal in its upper course from the Veḷḷimalai up to Pērūr (Coimbatore) was called Kāñchī, and thereafter till it joins the Kāvēri Noyyal. Was it because there was a grove near its source? Śēkkiḻār calls Pērūr,. Kāñchīvāipērūr. (Pērūr on the Kāñchī). The *Tēvāram* mentions the flower of the Kāñchī tree (II. 115–5). *Kāñchī* has several meanings, but *Kachchi* refers generally to a place. It is an example of what is called 'இடுகுறிப் பெயர்' (iḍukuṟip-peyar). It may well be that Kachchi came to be named Kāñchi because of the occurrence of the tree of that name in the city; and by this seemingly Samskritised name it became well-known all over India. Kachchi and Kāñchī are both Tamil words.

(2)

The basic matrix of the Śākta tradition in Kāñchī is the worship of the Dēvī first as Kāḷī and then as Rāja Rājēśvarī. The spot associated with this tradition is called *Kāmakōṭṭam* in Kāñchī. *Kōṭṭam* is an old Tamil word for a Temple of God. *Kōil* or *Kōvil* occurs for the first time along with *Kōṭṭam* in the *Śilapadikāram.*[1] *Kāmam* (*காமம்*), short for *Kāmamaram* sometimes means

a mango tree.[2] Kāmakōṭṭam may then mean 'the temple in the mango grove'. *Kāma*, as an adjective in Tamil conveys the idea of endearment or loveliness. *Kāmakaḍavuḷ* in old Tamil works means 'the God one loves or cherishes'. Similarly *Kāmakōṭṭam* is a much cherished temple.

An old verse[3] mentions, Kāmakoṭṭam, a temple which enshrined a deity 'wearing bangles and a breast-band' and was guarded by Śāttan (Yaksha or Śāsanadēvata of Śītalanātha, the tenth Tīrthaṅkara. He was also called Brahmadēva Yaksha).

An inscription[4] from Śāttamangalam, a renowned Jain centre of old, dated in the 14th year of Pallava Nandivarma II. (c. A. D. 745) records an endowment for the feeding of Jain ascetics. The *Ūr* (village assembly) takes the responsibility of administering the charity. The imprecatory formula invokes upon the violator of the terms of the charity the *sin of causing the destruction of Kāmakōṭṭam!!* This Kāmakoṭṭam enshrined a Yakshi, and was part of a Jain temple called Vīmala Śrīpaḷḷi. The name Kāmakōṭṭam is associated with Jain Yakshis and may therefore be of Jain origin which Śāktās must have adopted later.

The word *Kāmakōṭṭam* does not occur anywhere in any context in the Sangam works or even in the post-Sangam epics-*Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*; nor in any of the manuals on *Āgama*, *Vāstu* or *Śilpa* in its Samkritized form *Kāmakōshṭam*. It occurs in much later works, *Mānasāra* and *Mahāviśvakarmīyam*

—even there only in the appended chapters. The verse quoted by the commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār must have been composed after the post-Sangam period—the period of the two epics, and the Śāttamangalam inscriptions and before the time of Aḍiyārkkunallār, who cites this in his commentary.

Kāñchī was important to both Jains and Buddhists. Hīeun Tsang (c. 642) noted that several Buddhist places of worship in Kāñchī were giving place to Jain Digambaras. In the 6th and 7th centuries the Jains enjoyed royal support in Kāñchī. It would appear that before the 9th century a Śākta temple had risen in close proximity to the Jain Kāmakōṭṭam. Places of worship relating to the Jains, Buddhists and the Śāktas must have lain cheek by jowl. The earliest literary reference to this Śākta Kāmakōṭṭam is in Sundarar's *padigam* [5] sung in the Ōṇakāntan temple in Kāñchī. According to him this shrine to the Dēvī *was established* before his visit to the city (காமகோட்டமுண்டாக) *Kāmakōṭṭam uṇḍāha*; *uṇḍāha*—'now that it has come into existence'.

NOTES

1. V. 11; 171–2.

2. *The Jubilee Tamil Dictionary*

3. கச்சி வளைக்கச்சிக் காம கோட்டங்காவல்
மெச்சி யினிதிருக்கும் மெய்சாத்தன் கைச்செண்டு
கம்பக் களிற்றுக் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான்
செம்பொற்கிரி திரித்த செண்டு.

quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on Silappadikaram, V, ll 93-95. The verse says that the *cheṇḍu* (horse whip)

with which Karikālachōla lashed and churned or twisted *(tiritta)* the ruddy golden hill (Himalaya) was (in its might) equal to that of Mey Sāttan or Brahmadēva Yaksha, the guardian of Kāmakōṭṭam in Kachchi which enshrined the goddess wearing bangles and the breast-band (kuchabhanda),— or the *cheṇḍu* of Karikāla was (in its might equal to) that of Mey Sāttan, who in appreciation of the protection of Kāmakōṭṭam by the goddess that wore bangles and *brassiere* abided there. The lashing of Mēru with the *cheṇḍu* is attributed to others in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal purāṇam* — மேருவைச் செண்டாலடித்தது. The fortuitous association of the words Kachchi, Kāmakkōṭṭam, Kamba, and Karikāla in this anonymous old verse of unknown context has, perhaps, led interpreters to assume that Kachchi referred to Kāñchi, and its Kāmakōṭṭam in conjunction with the Karikāla legend that 'of his conquest of Kāñchī and settlement of agrarian colonies in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam'. "This story and other elements in the Karikāla legends", according to Prof. K. A. N. Sastri (*Cōḷas*, 1965, p. 36) "find no support from the earliest authorities on his reign and it would seem that Toṇḍainādu was ruled by Toṇḍaimān Iḷantiraiyan in the days of Karikāla and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of the suggestion either of the chieftain Iḷantiraiyan having been Karikala's grandson or atleast of his being appointed viceroy in Kāñchī after its conquest by Karikāla". In the light of the evidence of a Kāmakōṭṭam of Jaina persuation in Sāttamangalam (discussed below) there is a possible alternate explanation. The first word *Kachchi* of this verse may not perhaps mean *Kāñchī*. Possibly the commencing word *Kachchi* would according to the *nigaṇṭus*, mean the broken half shell of the nut of the Palmyrah fruit (பனநுங்கின் உடைத்த கொட்டை) or the half of the cocoanut shell (கொட்டான்கச்சி) here referring to the shape of and standing for the adolescent breasts of Kanni or a girl in her early teens (koḍi) that were encircled (*vaḷai*) by the *kachchu* or breast-band. The second *kachchi* in the context would mean the wearer of such a *kachchu*. Taken thus the lines would mean only the *kāval* (or protection, guard) of *Kāmakōṭṭam* (as its presiding deity) by her who is adorned by the *kachchu* encircling

her young breasts. Durgā forms are always shown as in girlhood and Her diverse forms are characterised by the provision of the *kuchabanda* in their sculptural representations or portraiture. Other forms of Dēvīs lack this, except in cases of divine groups of gods of later times flanked by two consorts, such as Vishṇu, Subrahmaṇya, Aiyanār etc., where one of the two Dēvīs is distinguished, as a matter of the iconographer's convention, by the provision of a *kuchabanda*. For instance, again, Nappinnai in the protective hug of Kriṣṇa in the Gōvardhana-dhāri sculpture scene in Mahabalipuram (Pallava) is distinguished from the rest of the gōpis by being invested with a *kuchabanda*. Likewise is Lakshmī, with Vishnu as the givers away of the bride, Umā, in the *Vaivāhika* groups of Kalyānasundara bronzes and sculptures of the Chōḷa and later periods. Durgā or Mahishamardini or Vindyāvasinī etc., is always depicted with *kuchabanda* vesture.

The small shrine of Śāttan or Brahmadēva Yaksha, usually built outside the enclosure wall of a temple, as in the north-west corner of the Vaḍakkunnāthan temple in Trichur (Kerala), or of a walled city Durgam or citadel (*kōṭṭam*), is aptly called Puṛampaṇaiyān Paḷḷi (See *Śilappadikāram* IX, l. 10), and one of the names of Śāstā or Āriyan is Puṛattavan (See Nigaṇṭu). A first century, A. D., panel from Mathura, illustrated by A. Coomaraswamy (*Eastern Art*, Vol. II, plate III, fig. 7) depicts such a temple, apsidal in form, outside the city gates of the walled city of Kusināra. Such an association of Śāstā with Piḍāri (Durgā, Kāḷi, Ellaiyamman, Ūr-piḍāri etc.) as presiding and guardian deities of a place are well-known from literary sources as well as from extant occurrences in many places, too numerous to catalogue The verse under discussion may merely refer to one such and not particularly to Kāñchī, if this interpretation is correct. 'Kāval' is used here in the same sense of 'guarded precincts' or 'preserve' even as 'Kāvu' is in Malaiyalam usage - for instance Āriyan-Kāvu —'the Kāvu of Āriyan — Śāstā or Śāttan.

4. Lines 8 to 10 of the inscription read—

... ... இவ்வற-மூ ரோங்காப்
போமாக; ஒட்டினால் [ஒட்டினோம்] காமக்கோ
ட்டமழித்த பாவமாக ... ...

(கல்வெட்டுக் கருத்தரங்கு — *Seminar on Inscriptions* 1966 p. 158 published by the Tamilnadu Government; edited by R. Nagaswami). Re-edited text is given on p. 122 *Damilica*— தமிழகம் "Journal of the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology" No. 1. Dec. 1970. The revised reading is given inside square brackets. It should be noted here that Chalukya Vikramaditya after his conquest of Kāñchī in A. D. 731 and while making endowments to the Kailāsanātha temple there has a different imprecation that states "that whoever harms the endowment will commit the sin of murdering the holy Brahmins of the *Ghaṭika*" which appears to have been of greater local importance for the purpose. He does not mention Kāmakōṭṭam while invoking the curse.

5 (a) நச்சித்தொழுவீர்காள் நமக்கிது சொல்வீர்
கச்சிப்பொலி காமக்கொடியுடன் கூடி
இச்சித்திரும் பூளையிடங்கொண்ட ஈசன்
உச்சந்தலையிற் பலிகொண்டுழலூணே.

—*Sambandar*: II 36; 4

'Why should Īśa, united as He is with Kāmakoḍi (Umā), carry a begging bowl on His head?' The reference is to the Bikshāṭana aspect. Here *Kachchi* does not necessarily mean Kāñchi; it may mean 'She who wears a breast-band (*Kachchu*—கச்சு). This hymn was sung in Irumbūḷai—திருவிரும்பூளை (Ālanguḍi), Thanjavur District and contains no explicit reference to Kāmakōṭṭam.

(b) கொழும்பவளச் செங்கனிவாய்க் காமக்
கோட்டி கொங்கையிணை அமர்பொருது
கோலங்கொண்ட ... ...

—*Appar*: VI 4; 10

In the temple of Tiruvadigai Appar recalls the legend of Śiva embraced by the 'creeper'—Umā. Kāmakōṭṭi is

generally taken to mean 'She of Kāmakōṭṭam'. But *Kōṭṭi* or *Koṭṭi* means a water-creeper and hence *Kāmakōṭṭi* is not different from *Kāmakoḍi* in the excerpt (a) above. If it is read Koṭṭi (கொட்டி) which means a creeper or water-plant, the combination would have the same meaning as Kāmavalli or Kamalatā that entwines Śiva (the Koḻu Kombu–கொழு கொம்பு).

(c) காமகோட்டமுண்டாக நீர்போய் ஊரிடும் பிச்சை கொள்வதென்னே ... ... —*Sundarar*: VII 5; 6.

Sundarar exclaims why Śiva should go about begging while Kāmakōṭṭam has come into existence. This hymn was sung in the Ōnakāntan temple in Kāñchī, and may refer to the Kāmakōṭṭam in that city.

(3)

There are three stages in the evolution of the concept and worship of Dēvī in Kāñchī. The earliest relates to the concept of the Dēvī in union with Her lord—Kamban, either embracing Him in the course of worship or coalesced with him in the Ardhanāri form. The Dēvī was of a shining dark colour (மெய்தற்கரிது பெரிதுமே —meytaṟkaritu peritumē)[1] — the colour of the clouds (முதிர மங்கை — mudira maṅgai).[2] Sambandar calls Her Kāmakoḍi.[3] Koḍi like vaḷḷi means a creeper. She is the 'loving creeper' that entwines Śiva. Kamban is likened to the கொழு கொம்பு — Kolu Kombu or supporting column round which the creeper entwines.

The short O (ஒ) does not occur in Samskrit. Though spoken Tamil has both the short and long forms, in writing till about the 17th century, the short form did duty for both the short and long forms. The symbol for the short form when used before a

consonant was a hook rising from a tiny circle at the bottom ௵. Beschi is said to have introduced a symbol for the long form ோ for the type case in printing Tamil. In the word *Kāmakoḍi*, the short 'O' was gradually forgotten and the long 'Ō' came to pervail. Kāmakōḍi (with the long 'Ō' makes no sense in Samskrit, and was therefore pronounced *Kāmakōṭi*. As could be expected an ingenious explanation was given to this Samskritised term, as signifying that the Goddess bestows a *kōṭi* (crore) of boons.

What is of particular importance to our thesis is that *koḍi* is one of the names of Durgā, the dark Goddess, described as a girl of nine or, according to some authorities, of twelve years.[4] Durgā in a temple to the north of Thañjāvūr is referred to as Tirunilai Koḍi, and the rock-cut cave-temple of the times of Narasimavarman Māmalla at the northern end of the hill dedicated to Durgā in Mahābalipuram is even today called Koḍikkal maṇḍapam (the stone *maṇḍapam* of Koḍi. One of the principal names of Kāñchī in Tamil works is *Kannikkāppu*, the city protected by Kanni or Durgā.[5] The original meaning of Kāmakōṭi was therefore Durgā or Kāli. Kāmakōṭi is more popularly known as *Kāmākshi* (or *Kāmakkaṇṇi* in Tamil) which also means Durgā[6] It may perhaps be necessary to expatiate on this at some length. In Assam there is the famous shrine of Kāmākshī (Kāmākhya). The *Dēvī Bhāgavata* (VII 30) and the *Matsya Purāṇa* (XIII) mention that in the Śakti pīṭha of Gandhamādana,[7] Durgā is worshipped as Kāmākshī, An inscription[8] of Gōpaladēva near

Sārangarh in Chitturgaṛh (M. P.) mentions Kāmākshī as one of the forms of Durgā. In the Sarasvati temple at Manguesh (Mahā-Giriśa) in Goa are different forms of Durgā, one of which is Sānta Durgā and another Santeri Kāmākshi. The Kāmākshī temples in the South, known from epigraphy,[9] are in Chuṇḍi (Nellore District) and in Dharmapuri. Kāmākshi is sometimes the village Goddess Kāli or Durgā as in some villages in the Madurai and Tiruchirapalli Districts. Also at the Parāśarēśvaram in Jōgimallāvaram (Chittoor District) and in the Nagari hills are shrines to Kāmākshi. Kari Māri-amman at Tiruvēṛkādu near Madras is said to be one of the aspects of Umā, another being Kāmākshī, both variants of Durgā. The naked Bhairavī standing next to Svarṇāmbikā in the cave temple on the Śivagaṅga hill (Mysore State) is called Kāmākshī.

A *mūṛti* need not have any specified iconographic features to be called Kāmākshī, and several *mūṛtis* worshipped in different temples spread all over the land which are known as Durgā, are also called Kāmākshī. The Goddess first consecrated in Śāktā Kāmakōṭṭam and further sanctified by Śaṁkara must have been worshipped under the name of Kāmākshsī also.[10]

NOTES

1. III. 14–10 (*Sambadae Tēvāram*)

‘ஈருருவாகவே ஆரு மெய்தற்கரிது பெரிதுமே’

(ஈர் உரு ஆக=சக்தி, சிவம் என்னும் இரண்டுதிறத்தது ஆகவும்; ஆரும்=உமது உடம்பில் கலந்த; மெய்தன்=அம்பிகை

யின் திரு உடம்பின்; கரிது=கரிய நிறம்; பெரிது=மிகவும் ஒளிவாய்ந்தது).

'Iruruvāhavē āru meitar karitu peritumē'. The twin forms of Śakti and Śiva, when united in Thy form, the aspect of the Śakti form is dark in colour and effulgent. The reference is to the Ardhanārī form.

2. III. 114-7

முதிரமங்கை தவஞ்செய்த காலம்

முதிரம்=மேகம், மேகம்போல நிறத்தையுடைய மங்கை)

(mudira maṅgai tavañcheyita kālam—the time when the Goddess dark-hued like a cloud was doing penance.

(Commentaries in the Dharmapuram Maṭh Publications)

3. II. 172-4 (*Sambandar Tēvāram*)

கச்சிப்பொலி காமக்கொடியுடன் கூடி

The Ardhanārī form of the God of Kachchi and Kāmakoḍi is referred to in a *padigam* sung at Irumbūḷai (Alangudi).

4. नववर्षा भवेद् दुर्गा

Girlhood in Tamil is called koḍipparuvam.

5. That Kanni or Durgā was considered the most powerful Kāval deivam or Kāvaṟkaḍavuḷ,—the 'guardian and protector of a place' is clearly brought out by Kamban in his description of the fort wall of Ayodhya and its defensive strength as 'காவலின் கலை ஊர் கன்னியை ஒக்கும்'—*Kamba Rāmāyanam Bālakāndam* 3, *Nagar paḍalam*, verse 8, line 5. The same is echoed in Kulasēkhara Āḷvar's *Kākuttan tālāṭṭu* as 'கன்னி நன்மாமதில் புடைசூழ் கணபுரம்'—*Divyaprabhandam Perumāl-tirumoli* 8, verses 719 and 729. 'Kalai-ūr-Kanni' refers to Durgā whose mount is the stag or antelope.

6. See Apte's Dictionary.

7. कामाक्षी गन्धमादने

8. Pūjāripalli Inscriptions. (c. A. D. 1150)

9. Nellore Inscriptions No. 10 and *A. R. E.* 307 and 308 of 1901.

10. *Kāmāṭchi*, as in its Tamil form, if it can be split as *Kā-māṭchi* would mean the beauty or pride *māṭchi* of the *Kā* – forest, grove or garden—*cf.* the names Kāḍukāḷ Kāmarśelvi etc , for the goddess.

(4)

The Tantras give a list of fifty (or fifty-two ?) Śakti pīṭhas and the names of the presiding God (Bhirava) and Goddess (Bhairavī) of each. The *Tantrachūḍāmaṇi*, which is an epitome of the older Tantras, assigns to Kāñchī, the Goddess Dēvagarbhā as the presiding Goddess.[1] The *Dēvī Bhāgavata* (VII — 38) calls Her Kīrtimatī presiding over the Ēkāmrakshētra. These were obviously the other names of the Hindu Goddess consecrated in Kāmakōṭṭam. The form of this Dēvī (Dēvagarbhā-Durgā-Kāmakōti) occurs in a temple adjoining the present Kandakōṭṭam (Subrahmaṇya shrine). She sports in Her two upper hands *pāśa* (noose) and *aṁkuśa* goad ; in the left lower hand She holds a *kapāla*[2] (or skullcap) and the right hand is held in the *abhaya* pose. Seated in the *ardhapadmāsana* pose, She wears a *jaṭā makuṭa*. There are three crowned heads in low relief on the plinth below, probably a Kālāmukha motif or, as is commonly believed, representations of the *Tṛmūṛtis*. She is Brahma-Vishṇu-Śivātmikā.[3] In front of Her is a circular bowl-shaped receptacle scooped out in stone with a hollow depression very much like a big sauce-pan, within which an *yantra*

had been inscribed but is now defaced. The bowl resembles the trough in the *present* Kāmākshī temple, which contains a *Śri yantra*, but is much smaller. During his visit to Kāñchī, Śaṁkara must have re-consecrated this *mūṛti*,[4] installed the *yantra* and changed the Kālāmukha *(Kaula)* form of worship into the *Samaya* form. This *yantra* soon attained the status of an all-India Śakti pīṭha under the name of Kāmakōṭi pīṭha.[5] The addition of the Saptamātṛka group must have been in response to the ritualistic needs of the age.[6]

On the high authority of Gīrvāṅēndra Sarasvati, this aspect of Kāmākshī–Dēvagarbhā–Durgā may be said to represent Kāmēśvarī. Gīrvāṇa's description of Kāmēśvarī fits in with the aspect of the Goddess here —

पाशांकुशाभय कपालवरांकित चिह्नहस्तां
चन्द्रकलावतंसां त्रिणेत्रां ... ...

The Dēvī in this temple is still called *Ādi Pīṭhēśvarī* or *Ādi Pīṭha Parmēśvarī* (the Sovereign Lady of the ancient or original Pīṭha).

This temple, datable in the eighth century has, in the subsequent centuries, undergone several modifications both in architecture and iconography the latest being the *transformation wrought in the early Vijayanagar style* indicative of the motivation with the spread of Vijayanagar rule in the south, starting with Kumara Kampaṇa's campaigns in the Tamil country. It still contains vestiges of

the past in some parts of the structure and the mutilated idols lying about. The *gōpura* is of an early type.

Now we may pass on to the consideration of the next stage in the evolution of the Dēvi concept in Kāñchī.

NOTES

1. काञ्चीदेशे च कंकालो भैरवो रुरुनामकः ।
देवता देवगर्भाख्या ... ...

The Hindi commentary on this verse says :—

शिवकाञ्ची में कालीमन्दिर है ।

Dēvagarbhā or Dēvamātā is one of the hundred names of Durgā (V. 5.)

2. Kapāla (Skull) is said to represent the universe and the Tantra describes it as the 'lotus which represents the universe'.

प्रपञ्चाम्बुज हस्ता च कपालिन्युच्यते परा । (इति रहस्यागमे)

The Supreme Goddess who holds the lotus which represents the universe is called Kapālinī. Again,

प्रपञ्चरूपाम्बुजं हस्ते यस्या इति कपालिनी ।

3. Hence perhaps called Dēvagarbhā, the Progenitrix of the three Gods. This motif occurs in some other temples also. One in Hampi has a sculpture of a Goddess over a plinth on which are carved three heads.

4. The Durgā in the Somēśvara temple at Kunigal (Tumkur District) — a Gaṅga sculpture, datable C. 800, is reported to have been installed by Śaṃkara, (*M. A. R.* 1938 p. 16).

One should take note of the prevalence of Durgā or Mahishāsuramardani sculptures in the monuments of Mahābalipuram, in Rājasimha's temple in Kāñchī and in the vicinity of

this city. Umā—Pārvati occurs only in Ardhanāri sculptures Saṃkara may have been motivated by this.

5. The commentary on the mantra कामकोटि-निळया (Kāmakōṭi nilayā) reads षण्णवतिपीठेषु मध्ये कामकोटिः श्रीचक्रमित्यर्थः।

—ललितात्रिशती (*Lalithā Trisati*)

The shrines where Śaṁkara installed the Śri Yantra were distinct ones with an individuality of their own, and not included within any Śiva temple unit. Such were, to mention a few, the Kāmakōṭṭam, the Mūkāmbikā shrine in Kollūr and the Śāradā and Śārikā shrines in Kashmir. In these places the yantra changed the *ugra* (terrific) aspect of the Goddesses. After the 11th century mantrik adepts installed this yantra in several other shrines. In Śriṅgērī, Śaṁkara established a new pīṭha with Śāradā as the presiding Goddess seated on a *Śrī chakra.*

6. The Śelliyamman temple in Ālambakkam (Tiruchi Dist.) erected by Dantivarman Pallava (A. D. 796—846) and the Vaṭṭapparai amman shrine in the Tiruvotriyur temple of about the same period have by the side of Durgā or Chandi-Chāmuṇḍa, the principal deity, the other maṭṛkas. Such iconographic parallels are many.

(5)

The Buddhist cult flourished in Kāñchī for several centuries. The early growth of this city may, in a sense, be said to have been bound up with the fortunes of this faith in Tondaimaṇḍalam. Kāñchī produced Buddhist scholars and philosophers whose fame and activities extended beyond the confines of India. Diṅnāga was a native of Kāñchi. Dharmapāla was head of the Bhaṭārāditta Vihāra. Hieun Tsang saw 100 monasteries in this city with 10,000 brethren of the Sthavira (Thēravāda) school where Diṅnāga's yōga was taught.

Remains of a Buddhist stupa, and of votive stupas belonging to the third or second century B. C. and of the fourth century A. D. have been discoverd very near the present Kāmākshī temple. Further excavations are expected to reveal many more of such remains.[1]

Later came into prominence the Mūlasōma Vihāra and the Sad Vihāra. Every Vihāra had at least one *Buddhāgaram* (shrine for the Buddha). In the site where the *present* Kāmākshī temple stands, and well within its enclosure, T. A. Gopinatha Rao discovered in 1915 a standing Buddha sculpture, 7′ 10″ in height of about the 7th century. "The circumstances", writes Rao, "that this figure was...... discovered in the innermost *Prākāra* of the Kāmākshī Amman temple in the town raises the question whether originally this temple was dedicated to this Buddha itself. Perhaps there was a Buddhist temple dating from a period earlier than 600 A. D."[2] The occurrence of a standing sculpture of the Buddha presupposes the obvious existence of a seated sculpture. One such was discoverd. It is not relevant to our present purpose to enumerate the Buddhist finds elsewhere in the city.[3]

"On the pillars of the *maṇṭapa* near the *mānasthambha*" and "on some of the pillars of a definitely late period lying in the (present) Kāmākshī temple are engraved the sculptures of a Goddess who is recognised as Tārā",[4] a prominent Dēvī of the Buddhist pantheon. To the south of the gateway of the eastern *gōpuram* is a sculptuae of Hayagrīva. It

will be clear to students of Buddhist iconography that where Tārā and Hayagrīva are found, there must have been a sculpture of Lōkanātha, whose attendants they are. One of the mutilated sculptures lying in the vicinity must be Lōkanātha.

The Jain cult also had considerable following in Kāñchī, which, according to old Jain writers, was one of the four *Vidhyāsthānas* in South India. A sculpture of Vardhamāna discovered within this temple enclosure is now worshipped in the Chandraprabhā temple at Jīna Kāñchī (Tiruparuttikuṇṛam). The sculpture of Dharmadēvī, the Yakshi of Nēminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, which is now in worship in Jina Kāñchī, was removed there from the present Kāmākshī temple about the 13th century.[5] It is now worthwhile recording that according to the *present* Kāmākshī temple tradition, one of the names of Svarna Kāmākshī is Dharmadēvī—the name of the Jain Yakshi also called Ambikā. The original name of the tank within the present Kāmākshī temple was *Nēmitaṭam* (named after the Tīrthankara Nēminātha). On the top of the *mānasthambha* is the figure of a Jain Yaksha. (Brahmadēva Yaksha or Śāttan).[6]

Buddhist and Jain vestiges that have been found in the site of and within the enclosure of the *present* Kāmākshī temple, some of which belong to even such a late period as the 13-14th century, lead to the obvious conclusion that in this particular locality crowded with Buddhist and Jain places of worship, there could not have been a temple of a Devī of the *Śākta* pantheon.

NOTES

1. Excavations conducted by the Madras University Department of Ancient History and Archaeology.

2. See P. R. Srinivasan: *Story of Buddhism with special reference to South India*, p. 71.

3. When the outer walls of the Ekāmreśvara temple were rebuilt in 1799 some outlying Buddhist sculptures were built into them. In the Patna museum there is a collection of inscribed bronzes collected from the Gaya District, and those bearing numbers 129 to 150 record the names of the donors who all belonged to Kāñchī. (*A. R. E.* 1955-6. p. 5)

4. *A. R. E* 1920. p. 117 ff. (App. B. Nos. 556 and 507) refer to a Bhauddhapaḷḷi. See also *I. A.* XLIV, pp. 127-8.

5. T. N. Ramachandran: *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples.* (Madras Museum Bulletin)

6. *Indian Archaeology* 1954-5: *A Review* p. 28.

(6)

A careful study of the early extant stone temples in the Tamil country will reveal that in none of them was a separate shrine to the Dēvī (Amman–to use the Tamil form) as the consort of the Śivaliṅga or idol in the principal sanctum *within* the same temple unit. Temples to Durgā and other forms of Śakti, such as the Saptamātṛkās and Jyēshṭhā there were, but they did not then form such an integral part of equal importance in the Śiva temple unit.

Śiva temples of the period 7-9th centuries A. D. had subsidiary shrines in the peristyle which contained only different aspects of Śiva. The temples of the early Chōḷa period (9–11th centuries) consisted

of a main shrine enclosed by a group of sub-shrines, generally eight in number, housing the *ashṭaparivāra* (eight subsidiary) deities—Nandi, Saptamāṭṛkās, Gaṇapati, Jyēshṭhā, Chaṇḍīśa, Āditya and Yama (or Chandra in some temples). Pārvatī was *not* one of the *parivāradēvatas*. There were later modifications of this scheme in some temples of this period. The Mūvarkōvil at Koḍumbālūr had sixteen sub-shrines, but Pārvatī was not included in any of them. Śiva in the sanctum was invoked generally in the Ardhanāri form as several *padigams* in the *Tēvāram* indicate.

It should be remembered that several factors contributed towards the complexity of Śaivism in the South which had a bearing on temple evolution. In the 9th century, the Pāśupatas, Kālāmukhas[1] and kindred sects continued to play a predominant role with their worship of Bhairava and Bhairavī. Later spread the tenets of the Gōlaki-Lakshādhyāyi santānams which reflected some important features of Kashmir and North Indian Śaivism. The new philosophy and rituals had Śiva and Śākta aspects, both well-defined. While asserting non-differentiation between Śiva and Śakti, who together constitute the Ultimate Reality, the Śiva or *Prakāśa* aspect of the Reality was differentiated from the Śakti or *Vimarśa* aspect; the former was pure 'subjective illumination' and the latter 'objective experience of Himself' (Śiva). In His *līlā* of creating, preserving and dissolving the universe, Sadāśiva functions with and through His Śakti Manōnmaṇī. Since *Sadāśiva tattva* comprises both Sadāśiva and Manōnmaṇī, the need was felt for representing the two separately, but

within the same temple unit, and this led to the creation of a separate sanctum for the Dēvī (Amman). Up to now Amman shrines were independent and not related to Śiva shrines, but from after the 11th century the twin shrines of Śiva and Amman of equal *prādhānya* (predominance), generally built within the same temple complex, came to represent the dual aspect of Śiva-Śakti.

As a first step the '*ugra*' (fierce) Dēvī *mūṛṭis* nearby were converted into '*saumya*' (benevolent) *mūṛṭis* and attached to Śiva temples. Where this was not possible, new sculptures were prepared and installed within the Śiva temple unit. The temple came to have two principal shrines, the *Tirumalai* (*Kailāsa*) or *Mēru* or *Ponmalai* by which term the Śiva shrine is referred to in the inscriptions, and the *Tirukāmakōṭṭam* by which name the Dēvi shrine is designated.[2] During the time of Sundarar, the Kāñchī Śākta Kāmakōṭṭam (Kāmākshi-Dēvagarbhā-Durgā-Āḍi Pīṭhēśvari shrine) had come to be looked upon as the temple of the consort of Ēkamban—why of all the Śiva murtis in Kāñchī. The name *Kāmakōṭṭam* came in handy to designate all the Amman shrines all over the South after the 11th century.

Kāñchī and Chidambaram were two of the sacred places which the Chōḷa emperors venerated. The Tillai Kālī in Chidambaram, though referred to in the Purāṇās as Śiva's consort, is housed far away from the principal temple, and a new Pārvatī shrine (that of Śivakāmavalli or Śivakāmakoḍi) was erected within the remple unit. Inscriptions refer to this

Goddess as Tirukāmakōṭṭa Periyanāchiyār. The *Śilappadikāram* describes the old Goddess in Madurai as wearing a *jaṭā* with the crescent moon, holding a lotus in the left hand and a sword in the right. Her left side is of a dark hue while the right is crimson (Śiva's hue). On the left leg is a *Śilambu* (anklet worn by women) and on the right a *Vīrakalal* (anklet worn by men or heroes).[3] This form representing the Ardhanāri concept has since given place to the present *saumya* form of Mīnākshī within the Śiva temple unit. This transformation is reflected in the legend of Taṭātakā, the warrior Goddess, becoming Mīnākshī who again is referred to in the inscriptions as Tirukāmakōṭṭattu Āluḍaya Nāchiyār. These instances will suffice to show how the Kāmakōṭṭam in Kāñchī provided the inspiration for the establishment of Kāmakōṭṭams in the South Indian temples. Not one of these Amman shrines within the Śiva temple complex is older than the late 11th century. Their dates may be verified from inscriptions.

Again about the 11th century when Bauddhapaḷḷis and Jīnapaḷḷis decayed in the heart of Kāñchi city, particularly within the enclosure and in the vicinity of the *present* Kāmākshī temple, as elsewhere in the South, the Gods and Goddesses of the pantheons of these 'heretical' sects were incorporated with the 'orthodox' (Śiva or Vishṇu) pantheon. The consummation of this transformation is the coming into existence of the present Kāmākshī temple.

Some Scholars are generally of opinion that the idol of Kāmākshī in the *new Kāmakōṭṭam* was

originally a form of Tārā.[4] But there is the inescapable tradition that Dharmadēvi,[5] the Yakshi of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Nēminātha was worshipped in the sanctum here. Consequent on the convertion of the temple, the idol of Dharmadēvi was removed to Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and enshrined there in the Vardhamāna or Trailokyanātha temples a fact attested to by the temple records at Tiruparuttikunṛam. The temple tank Nēmitaṭam was named Ulakāṇi (Ulakāḷi?) or Chakratirtham. The transformation of a Jain shrine into a Hindu shrine was complete. What adds certitude is the retention of the tall *mānastambha* with the figure of the Jain Yaksha—'Śāttan' on top.

The present idol was fashioned after the *dhyāna ślōkas* or descriptive verses from the works of an important school of the *Kādimata* of *Śrividyā*, which is prevalent in the South. This Goddess represents the aspect of Lalitā Rāja Rājēśvari red in colour like the hibiscus flower.

NOTES

1. Inscriptions in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam mention Kāḷāmukha priests belonging to the Gōmaḍam family. 'They were of Simha and Śakta parishaḍs'.

cf. *A. R. E.* 1924 p. 17 and 1915 pp. 6 and 11.

2. For a fuller exposition of this subject see K. R. Srinivasan: *Tirukāmakōṭṭam* (Proc. *A. I. O. C.*, Vol. XIII. Nagpur Session; Section 'Archaeology'—pp. 50–6, and his *Śaṁkara Pārvati Lectures* reproduced in the *Madras University Journal* Vol. XXXII, No. 1. pp. 154-8).

3. *S'ilappadikāram*: 23; Ll. 1-10. According to another reading the weapon in the right hand is battle-axe or scimitar? *(Koḍuvāḷ).*

4. cf. *A. R. E.* 1920 p. 56.

5. The name Dharmadēvī is perhaps responsible for the continuing tradition that the Goddess of Kāmakōṭṭam is the dispenser of thirty-two boons

cf. 'அறம்புரப்பவள் கோயிலான போக பீடம்'
—(S'ekkiḷār; *op.* C. V. 83)

The present street name Aṛappaṇakārateru, in Kāñchī, near the temple is possibly a corruption of '*Aṛampurappavaḷ*'.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla's queen Dharmadēvī or Dharma-mahādēvī, was perhaps named so after the presiding deity—the goddess or Dharmadēvī Yakshi of Kāñchī. The Muktes'vara (S'iva) temple, opposite the Kāmākshī temple beyond the main street, a later Pallava structure, is called in its inscription 'Dharmadēvīsvaragṛham' after the queen's name.

* * *

It will be tendentious to draw historical conclusions from a mass of fantasy that constitutes the *Sthalapurāṇa;* nevertheless stripped of all its mythological vesture, the *Kāmākshi-līlā-Prabhāvam* exhibits some coincidences that may be set forth here for what they are worth. According to the *Purāṇa,* a king by name Vikramachōḷa cleared Kāñchī of all wild growth and set up a shrine for Kāmākshī. A Vikrama chōḷa ruled between A. D. 1063 and 1069. According to the *Tiruvālaṅgāḍu* plates Vikramachōḷa was also one of the surnames of Rājēndra chōḷa I (1012-44). The *Purāṇa* further gives the date which begins; Sāvitrī Kalpa, Svāyambhuva Manu-Tāmasa Kalpa, Kritayuga etc. Discarding all these impossible data, we come to the year *S'rīmukha,* the solar month of *Kumbha* (*Phālguna-Ba.* 1), Friday, *Pūrvaphalguni.* These astronomical data fit in with February 17, 1033, except that the week day is Saturday, not Friday. The

earliest date that epigraphy furnishes for the setting up of Kāmakōṭṭams or Amman shrines in Śiva temples is 1039, the 27th year of the Rājēndra I. (Records were then dated in the regnal years of kings, but this *Purāṇa* being a much later work cannot be expected to conform to that historical tradition. The setting also is mythological, not historical).

It is a further coincidence that Harihara II constructed the *Vimānam* of this temple in another *Śrimukha* year (1393).

There is yet another statement in this book. It is said that Dēvī exhorted Brahmā to install Dēvī images in all the Śiva temples to enable him to worship both Śiva and Dēvī (within the same temple unit). Here is the relevant passage in the Tamil version.

... ... சிவபெருமானுக்குப் போகசக்தி உருவம் காணாதிருக்கச் சிவாலயங்கடோறும் கவுரியை இல்லாமற் செய்தோம். நீ தெரிசிக்க வேண்டுமாயின் எல்லா க்ஷேத்திரங்கடோறும் நீயே சென்று கவுரிப் பிரதிஷ்டைசெய்து சிவதெரிசனத்தோடு அம்பிகை தெரிசனமுஞ்செய்து மகிழக்கடவாயென்று அனுக்ரஹஞ்செய்தனர்.

Brahmā then installed the Dēvī in all Śiva temples both in Kāñchimaṇḍalam (the province of Kāñchī) and elsewhere.

... ... ஸ்ரீ காஞ்சிமண்டலத்திலும் பூமண்டலத்திலுள்ள சிவாலயங்கடோறும் சென்று அங்கங்கும் அம்பிகைகளைப் பிரதிஷ்டை செய்து சிவபெருமானாரோடு அம்பிகைகளையும் தெரிசனம் செய்து மகிழ்ந்து தன்னுலகம் போய்ச்சேர்ந்தனன்.

These are obviously significant statements pertinent to our study. Incidentally it may be mentioned that such Amman or Nāchiyār shrines in Saiva and Vaishnavite temples are characteristic of the Tamil country alone, and they are not to be found in the composition of temple complexes elsewhere in India, except in places to which the Tamils had migrated and settled down or which had come under their cultural influence after the 11th–12th century A. D.

(7)

Sekkiḻār (12th century) speaks of both the old Sākta Kāmakōṭṭam and the new one. In verse 79 of the *Tirukkuṟippu-t-Toṇḍar Purāṇam*, he mentions the 'tamarind tree that does not produce any fruit' in the *temple of the Goddess whose countenance resembles the dark cloud.*[1] Verse 83 speaks of the *yōga pīṭha* resorted to by saints and yōginīs intent on meditation[2] and the *bhōga pīṭha* in the temple of the Dēvī who 'dispenses and fosters aṟam or dharma'.[3] The context would indicate that the former is the old temple, and the latter, the new one.

A recent commentator says:—"Adjacent to the (present) Kāmakōṭṭam, there is a temple of Kāḷī (old Kāmakōṭṭam) who for covering the Lord's eyes with Her hands became dark in complexion, and at *this* place She performed penance. Then the dark form changed, and She was established (in the new Kāmakōṭṭam)".[4] The *Sthala Purāṇam (Kāmākshī līlā prabhāvam)* also says the same thing.

Centuries elapsed before the new Kāmakōṭṭam became popular enough to dislodge the old temple from its position of importance. Saint Aruṇagiriyār (15th century) refers to the Dēvī of the Kāmakōṭṭam in his Kāñchī *padigams* as the Durgi of a dark (emarald) complexion[5] wearing wristlets of serpents,[6] who, when a flood appeared, clung to Kamban and in the contact changed His red complexion into dark on the left side, and who in Her supreme grace took Her residence in this temple to bless the ardent devotees who are attached to Her feet. He says that Subrahmaṇya (இந்திரர் பெருமான்–Indirar perumān) is in the

temple of this Dēvī.[7] Kandakōṭṭam, the temple of Subrahmaṇya, is just adjacent to the old Kāmakōṭṭam. He also refers to the *S'rī Chakra* in front of the Dēvī.[8] In the 15th century there was no *S'rī Chakra* in the new Kāmakōṭṭam; as we shall see in a subsequent section; and only the old temple had it. Aruṇagiriyār had obviously not taken any notice of the new Kāmakōṭṭam.

"The dispenser of boons to Her satisfaction, 'the creeper *(koḍi)* of emerald hue', who is one half of Siva and whose breasts fed Her younger child (Subrahmaṇya) adorned with a garland of *vetchi* flowers"—this is how poet Villiputtūrār (C. 1400) describes Kāmākshī of Kañchī; *koḍi*, as has been pointed out before, means also Durgā, who is here said to be dark—of the colour of emerald. This description[9] applies only to the goddess in the old temple and not to Lalitā Rāja Rājēśvarī in the new temple.

Mūka kavi who lived in the 16th–17th century, after a *S'rī Chakram* had been installed in the new temple, and when it had become famous, did not forget the old temple. Several verses are in praise of the dark complexioned Goddess. He sings of Her as having robbed the dark iron of its colour; as of the hue of the blue lily, the emerald and the rain-bearing cloud. He addresses Her as Chaṇḍikā holding a skull, Kātyāyanī, Kapālinī, Durgā etc. Occurring as they do in several verses,[10] they cannot be dismissed as just passing references to the different forms of the Dēvī. Old memories die hard.

NOTES

1. காளமேக மொப்பாளுறை வரைப்பிற் கண்
 படாத காயாப் புளியுள தால்.

2. சிந்தை யோகத்து முனிவர் யோகினிகள்
 சேரும் யோக பீட முளதென்றும்.

3 அந்தமில் அறம் புரப்பவள் கோயிலான
 போக பீடமுள தாகும்.

4. *Op. cit.* (Kōvai Tamil Śaṅgam edition)

காமகோட்டத்தின் பக்கத்தில் காளிகோயில் என வழங்கும் ஒரு ஆலயம் உளது. இறைவனது திருக்கண்ணைப் புதைத்தமையாற் காளிம உருவம் பெற்று அம்மையார் தவஞ்செய்திருக்கும் இடம். இக்கோயிலில் கண்படாத காயாப்புளி உளது.

5. துர்க்கி — பச்சை நிறப் பெண், பச்சைப் பொற்கொடி;
 நீலி ... ... etc.

6. புயங்க கங்கணி.

7. நதி கொளகத்திற் பயந்து கம்பர் மெய்
 கருக இடத்திற் கலந்திருந்தவள் கஞ்சபாதங்கள்
 கருணை மிகுந்துக் கசிந்துளங்கொடு
 கருது மவர்க்குப் பதங்கள் தந்தருள்
 கவுரி திருக்கோட்டமமர்ந்த இந்திரர் தம்பிரானே.

8. ஒன்றெட்டுச் சக்ர தலப்பெண்.

9. இச்சைப்படி தன்பேரற மெண்ணுன்கும் வளர்க்கும்
 பச்சைக்கொடி விடையோனொரு பாகத்திறை
 கொண்டாள்
 செச்சைத் தொடையினையோனுகர் தீம்பான் மணநாறும்
 கச்சைப் பெருமுலையாளுறை கச்சிப்பதி கண்டான்.

 (*Mahābhāratam : Aruchchunan Tirttayāttirai Śarukkam* V–II–13)

Note the reference to Dēvi as *Kachchai-peru-mulaiyāl* — the wearer of the breast-band over full-some breasts.

10. *Stuti S'atakam :* कालायश्छवितस्करीं तनुरुचिं (V. 15)
नीलोत्पलप्रभया (V. 22) कुवलयमयी (V. 65)
मरकतरुचां (Vv. 31, 37, 42 and 56)
तापिञ्छसुषमाः (लक्ष्मीः) (Vv. 47 and 64)
निरुन्धाना कान्तिं निजरुचिविलासैर्जलमुचां (V. 43)
तरुणजलदश्यामाः (V. 26) कालाम्भोदप्रकरसुषमां (V. 62)
रुचा मोघयन्मेघशैलीं (V. 63) घनश्यामा (V. 100)

See also *Āryā S'ataka.* Vv. 78, 79 and 94. These references have been selected at random.

* * *

While on the subject of literary references we may mention the *Lalitōpākhyānam*, which is said to form part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, but is not found in most of the recensions of the *Purāṇa.* It must be a late work but is popular and held in veneration. *Adhyāya* 26 of the *Upākhyāna* describes the battle between Dēvī Lalitā and Baṇḍāsura, wherein are references to the battles described in the *Chaṇḍī Saptaśati* which is an integral part of the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*. The *Upākhyāna* deals with the incarnation of Dēvī Lalitā, Her victories, Her union with Kāmēśvara and installation as the Sovereign Matrix, and elaborates, in the form of stories, the significance of the names of Dēvī Lalitā enumerated in the opening verses of the *Sahasranāma.* As is usual with the Purāṇa stories, this work is an exposition in the form of anecdotes of a profound mystic truth, *viz.*, the arousing of the *Chit S'akti* in the microcosm by destroying the *vrittis* of the mind and the ego, and uniting Her with Śiva in the *sahasrāra chakra* which marks the attainment of the stage of final Beatitude. The work has no historical value. It is an exposition of a form of the *upāsana* of *S'rī Vidyā* imported into the south and developed in Kāñchī and many other South Indian centres. It is thus of great importance to the *sādaka*

To this work has been added a much later supplement dealing with the greatness of Kāmākshi. It is full of fanciful

anecdotes, such as Daśaratha's visit to Kāñchī to implore the Dēvī to bless him with a son.

(6)

The structure of the present Kāmākshī temple which rose on the ruins of the Jain Kāmakōṭṭam dedicated to a Yakshiṇi like the one in Sāttamangalam, is not older than the 14th century. After its foundation as a Hindu temple in, and not earlier than, the 12th century, for about three centuries, the temple must have been a simple cell amidst the walls of the old Jain and Buḍḍhist temples which it supplanted and a complete *vimānam* was put up only on July 1393 (*S'aka* 1315, *āshāda* S. 10) by Harihara II who also covered it with copper,[1] even as the superstructure of the Ānanda Nilaya Vimāna of Śrī Venkaṭēśvara on Tirumalai (Tirupati) was encased in Vijayanagar times with embossed copper plate that was gilt with gold. The sanctum within the *Gāyatrī maṇḍapam* faces south-east.

The eastern *gōpuram*, though of the Vijayanagar period, has in its lower stone part some Pāṇḍya features of the 14th century, such as *kūḍus* on the *kapōta* and Pāṇḍya type of corbels. The other *gōpurams* belong to the 14th and 15th centuries. The *Navarātri maṇḍapam* with its pillar complexes is a typical Vijayanagar structure. The *Vasanta maṇḍapam* (*Āmai maṇḍapam*), another Vijayanagar structure, contains bas-reliefs on pillars which have attached columnettes. Krishṇarāya Chakravarti Sivaṇḍār built a *maṇḍapam* where food was offered to the Goddess,[2] and Achyuta Rāya donated a village in A. D. 1539 to

meet the expenses of the food offerings. In A. D. 1556 in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya several repairs and renovations were made.[3] Kaḷiṅgarāyan, also called Ādittadēvar of Kappalūr, in Muttūṟṟukūṟṟam got the *Utsava maṇḍapam* constructed.[4] The *Chitra maṇḍapam* was paved with stone by Sripati, a minister of Vēṅkaṭapati Rāya (1586–1614).[5]

On the west wall and at the base of the *Utsava maṇḍapa* are two very significant inscriptions[6] which state that Narasimhādhvarī of the Dattanamañchi family *installed the Kāmakōṭī pīṭha* (the *Śrī chakra* before the Goddess). One of these inscriptions which is incomplete, states that the *pīṭha* was laid (installed) during the reign of Liṅgama Nāyak of Vellore, a subordinate to Emperor Vēṅkaṭapati II (1586–1614). It may be recalled that Liṅgama was the son and successor of Chinnabomma Nāyak, who was the patron of Appayya Dīkshitēndra. The other one mentions that Narasimhādhvarī, who had performed several *yajñas* and was 'the crest jewel' of the Dattanamañchi family 'implanted' (installed) the Kāmakōṭī pīṭha over a broad space and surrounded it with an 'armour' of vertical stones of brilliant hues with the Lakshmī figures carved on them. This practically completed the process of the growth of the new Kāmakōṭṭam extending from about the 11th to the early 17th century.

The earliest *epigraphical* references to Kāmākshī ambā are from Godlagaṭṭu (A. D 1259)[7] and Tripurāntakam[8] Kurnool District. Both mention a chief, Pallava Immaḍi Basava Śaṁkara Allāda

Premaya Dēva 'Lord of Kāñchī and devotee of Kāmakōṭyambikā.'

Within the present Kāmākshī temple there is no record earlier than the 12–13th century referring to this Dēvī temple. The earliest among them are grants by or during the reigns of Madurāntaka Pottāppichōḷa,[9] Telugu Chōḍa-Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla,[10] a Kākatiya king[11] (A. D. 1316), Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya,[12] and Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya.[12]

Kāñchī was pillaged and the temples desecrated by the invasions of Malik Kafur (1310) and Muhammad Gawan, the Bahmani general; and the divine services in the temples were suspended for some decades until Kumara Kampaṇa of Vijayanagar, who carried his victorious arms into the south, restored them. He and his father Vīra Bukkaṇa made tax-free grants of villages in A. D. 1366 to Ēkāmranātha and the *two* Dēvī temples.[14] Kampaṇa also ratified some previous gifts.[15] Gifts dated in the reigns of the Vijayanagar emperors Dēvarāya (1438),[16] Mallikārjuna (1457)[17] and Bhūpati Uḍaiyār[18] are recorded in the inscriptions. Krishṇadēvarāya seems to have visited Kāñchī several times; a grant of his is dated 1529.[19] His successor Achyutarāya celebrated a *tulābhāram* in this city and marked the occasion with making magnificent grants to temples; this temple got eight villages besides another gifted in 1539.[20] His attendants also made gifts.[21] In Sadāśivā's reign there were two grants of villages (1543 and 1556),[22] and a renewal of an older grant, (1565).[23] There are records mentioning Sūrappa Nāyaka of Señji[24] and another,

engraved in characters of the 16th century, mentioning Krishṇappa Nāyaka, Periya Vīrappa Nāyaka, and Bommi Nāyaka.[25] There are some others of the Vijayanagar and Nāyak periods which are either incomplete or scrappy. The inscriptions earlier than those reviewed here belong to the period when these precincts belonged to the Jains; one of them, (9th century) refers to the temple of the 'arivar' (*Arhat*).[26]

NOTES

1. A record of Harihara II. Ś 1315 expired—*Śrīmukha*. (*S. I. I.* IV. No. 352; *A. R. E.* 29 of 1890 : 316 of 1954–55).

शक्ष्या लोके शकाब्दे परिणमति शुभे श्रीमुखा-
षाढमासे शुद्धे पक्षे दशम्यां रविसुतदिवसे मित्र-
मे जैत्रतेजा: ॥ काञ्च्यां कल्याणशोभी हरिहर
नृपति[:*]प्राणबन्धु[:*]प्रजानां कामाक्ष्या:
श्रीविमान[·*]व्यतनुत
शुक्रताम्भोनिधिस्ताम्रबन्धम्

Ll. 4 and 5. श्रीविमानं ताम्रबन्धं व्यतनुत changed the form of or veiled (व्यतनुत) the *Śri Vimānam* by covering it over with copper. In all the contexts in the inscriptions from the 9th century A. D. and in the Śilpa and Āgama texts, *Śrī Vimānam* refers to the entire structure from the foundation to the finial (*upānam* to *stūpi*) and occasionally in much later usage it denotes the pyramidal superstructure over the *garbhagriham*. It may therefore be stated without fear of contradiction that Harihara considerably remodelled the entire structure (or Śrī Vimānam).

2. *A. R. E.* 305 of 1954–55
3. *A. R. E.* 319 of 1954–55
4. *A. R. E.* 329 of 1954–55

5. *A. R. E* 348 of 1954-55

6. *A. R. E.* 349 and 350 of 1954-55

Dattanamañchi Narasimhādhvari's Saṁskirt inscriptions in Telugu characters ;—

A

निक्षिप्यमाण प्रतिभटमहसामुद्भटानां
भटानां नागानां षष्टिमष्टापदयुतम्
करुणासंगते लिंगभूपे पीठीमाद्या-
मभेद्यामकृत कृतमतिः श्रीनृसिंहा-
ध्वरींद्रः ॥ श्री श्री श्री

(rest built in) (No 350)

Ll. 1-3 mention King Liṅga and his praśasti.

3-5 mention that the wise Śrī Nṛsimha, the best of *adhvaryus*, made (installed) with precision the *pīṭha* (आद्यां may mean pre-eminent—the *Śrī yantra pīṭha* is among *pīṭhas*, the pre-eminent).

B

रक्षितः करुणादृष्ट्या
लिंगक्षोणी बिडौजसः
नरसिंहाध्वरी पीठो
कामकोटीमजीघटत श्री
मातुः पर्वतसार्वभौम-
दुहितुः श्रीपौण्डरीकाध्वरस्निग्धाने-
कहविर्भिरद्भुततरामृद्धिं निदि-
ध्यासता एतद्दत्तनमंचिवंशमणि-
ना श्रीकामकोटीपदं विस्तीर्णं बहु-
वर्णाराजदुपलश्रीवर्मितं निर्मितम् ॥ (No 349)

Ll. 1-2 reference to King Liṅga.

Ll. 6-8 *praśasti* of Narasimhādhvarī.

L. 4. अजीघटत aorist of घट् = to accomplish, form, fashion, shape He shaped the *piṭha* (Kāmakōṭi).

Ll. 8-10. He constructed (निर्मितं) the broad abode or receptacle (पदं विस्तीर्णं) and surrounded it (वर्मितं = furnished with armour) with stones of different colours. उपलश्री suggests the presence of reliefs of the *Ashṭalakshmi* on the stones.

See also K. R. Srinivasan's article in the *Kalaikaḷañjiyam* (*Tamil Encyclopaedia*) Vol. 9 ; p. 534.

7. Nellore Inscriptions No. 18.

8. 217 of 1905. Tripurāntakam temple was built in 1255 under the orders of Kākatiya Gaṇapati (169 and 171 of 1905). The chief mentioned in the inscription was probably administrator of Kāñchī under Gaṇapati.

9. 318 and 324 of 1954-55

10. 309, 310, 314 of 1954-55

11. 323 of 1954-55

12. 311 of 1954-55

13. 345 of 1954-55

14. *S. I. T. I.* 454

15. 356 of 1954-55

16. 301, 320 and 332 of 1954-55

17. 315 of 1954-55

18. 317 of 1954-55

19. 336 of 1954-55 ; 344 of 1954-55

20. 303 and 304 of 1954-55 ; also 335 of 1954-55

21. *cf.* 306 and 307 of 1954-55

22. 319 and 322 of 1954-55

23. 333 of 1954-55

24. 334 of 1954-55

25. 337 of 1954-55

26. 360 of 1954-55 dated in the 18th year of Narasinga Pottaraiyar which is in the characters of the 9th century either refers to a later Pallava chief or is a reinscription of an earlier one of Pallava Narasimhavarman II.

* * *

In July 1780 when Haidar Ali's army marched into the Carnatic plains, the British suffered an ignominious defeat. For two years when armies marched and countermarched Kāñchī temples suffered severe damage. Haidar started renovating them. Later Tipu ordered their completion. "He invited the Shankaracharya of Shringeri to be present at Kāñchī to supervise the rites of worship ... ... He expended large amounts of money to set up new gold idols in Hindu shrines ... ...". (See G. S. Sardesai :— *New History of the Marathas* Vol. III, pp. 189-190). The Kāmākshī temple also must have benefited by the gifts of Tipu.

(9)

All over South India when Buddhist and Jain monasteries and temples fell into desuetude, the buildings were used as Hindu temples, and the idols were given the names of the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. Wherever necessary the idols were 're-sculpted' to chisel out the *lāñchanas* and other special markings and make appropriate changes in the features. In a village in the Coimbatore District a Tīrthaṅkara and his two attendants are now worshipped as Tṛmūrti; and the hill in which they stand is now the Tṛmūrti hill; Brahmayaksha of the Jains is now Śāstā or Aiyanār in several places, and one of his Tamil names is Paramar. Pārśvanatha in Nagercoil is Anantāḷvār. Yakshi Padmāvati is now Bhagavatī in Chitral. The Maṅgaḷā Dēvī temple in

Mangalore and the Mañjunāth temple in Kādri have still Jain vestiges including bronzes which indicate their transformation into Saivite temples.[1] Buddha came to be acknowledged as an *avatār* of Vishṇu.

Scholars have for long opined that the idol now worshipped as Śaṁkarāchārya in the present Kāmākshī temple, originally represented the Buddha. According to the texts on Buddhist iconography and *Mānāsāra*, the seated Buddha is represented with lobed ears, long and broad eyes, protuberant forehead, fairlyshaped chest, round belly etc. One of the forms depicts him as seated in the *samapāda padmāsana*, the left hand kept on the crossed legs, palm upward with open fingers and the right hand held in *chinmudra* or *abhaya mudra*, and clothed in diaphanous yellow robes with wave-like folds exposing the right shoulder. This description applies to this idol in the Kāmākshī temple. The similarity in portraiture, pose etc. to the other seated Buddha images in places in and round Kāñchī is too marked to be missed. On the pedestal are six standing figures in low relief. This is by no means a rare occurrence. To give some examples:—On the pedestal below the cross-legged Buddha in Sārnāth exhibiting the *dharma chakra pravartana mudra*, the wheel and the deer in the centre are flanked by three human figures on either side, making six pupils of the Master. A sculpture from the Amarāvatī collections represents the Buddha exhibiting the *chinmudra* in the right hand and resting the left hand with palm facing upward over the crossed legs (as in the idol of the Kāmākshī

temple) and shown with six attendant figures. There are similar sculptures in places as far apart as Barabudur in Java and Takht-i-Bāhi near Peshawar. This group of six represents the Buddha's disciples, Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Veppa, Mahānāma and Assaji, and a wealthy merchant of Vārāṇasi named Yasa who joined later. The sculpture in the Kāmākshī temple must have undergone 're-chiseling' and reshaping to endow the principal figure and four others with the *daṇḍa* so as to make them appear as Śaṁkarāchārya and his four sanyasi disciples. Such alterations are not confined to this temple alone. The modern images put up over the entrance to this particular shrine are designed to impart the necessary touch of verisimilitude.

A sculpture in low relief on the inner wall of the *gōpuram* represents a Haṭha yōgi standing on one leg with the other bent and tucked up. Some recent publications would have us believe that this figure also represents Śaṁkarāchārya. A label[2] inscribed underneath the figure in late Tamil Grantha characters reads:—*Śrīmat Kāmākshīśvara Bhāratī Śrīpādaṅgalu svarūpam*—obviously a Haṭha yōgi sanyāsi of the *Bhāratī* order. A similar sculpture in another place reads *Kāmaākshidēva Śrīpādaṅgalu.*

To help us to identify some of the other so called 'Śaṁkarāchārya' sculptures in and near Kāñchī, it is necessary to digress a little. Śaiva Āgamas came into vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its founders, Lakulīśa, born in Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarōhaṇa[3] (modern Karvan) was considered an

avatāra of Śiva. He had four disciples namely Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya (or Rushṭa) — a tradition corroborated in stone inscriptions. The disciples founded the four branches of the Pāśupata cult. The Mathura pillar inscriptions (A. D. 380) mentions three of the successors of Kuśika. Perhaps the earliest representation of Lakulīśa is the figure on the coins of Wemokadphises II. Sculptural representations of Lakulīśa were common even before the 7th century in Khandēsh and Gujarat, and they spread all over the west, then to Kaliṅga and Southern India and gradually even to Jāva. This process was hastened because Pāśupata āchāryas were Rājagurus. In Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Kāñchī were two prominent Pāśupata centres, and here, as well as in the other parts of Tamilnād, this Pāśupata Āgama cult was very much in evidence till the later Śaiva schools came into prominence, and in Karnātak till the rise of Vīraśaivism.

Lakulīśa sculptures occur with two or four of his disciples and sometimes with a *liṅga* or any other appropriate form of Śiva by the side. In some specimens his *membrum virile* is shown erect. His distinguishing symbol is the *lakula* or *daṇda*. He often takes the place of Dakshiṇāmūrti who is also represented with four disciples. With the *daṇda* and with or without the four disciples, his sculptures in Kāñchī and its neighbourhood are easily mistaken for Saṁkarāchārya. The later āchāryas of the Pāśupata schools were also represented in temple sculptures. The sculpture, now in the Madras Museum, of

Vidyārāśi mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr Mūvarkovil inscription which stood originally in Tagadūr is represented as a Śiva yōgi worshipping a *liṅga*.

In the Śaiva Āgamas, there is basis for every shade of philosophical thought from realism to idealism, and in practices from ritualism, pure or gruesome, to sublime meditation. This accounts for the variety in the ascetics plastically represented in the temples in Kāñchī and elsewhere. Thus in contrast to the mild Śiva yōgins, were the Kālāmukhas and the Mahāvrathis including those of the Bhairava Saṅgam whom Śekkiḻār has portrayed in gruesome details.[4]

Ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect, originally of the Haihaya kingdom of Tripuri, who spread all over the country as *Lakshādhyāyi* or *Gōlaki santānams*, about whom there is no dearth of Tamil inscriptions, mark yet another stage. They claim to belong to the *parampara* of Dūrvāsas. On one of the walls of the *Utsava mūrti* enclosure in the Kāmākshī temple is a sculpture of Dūrvāsas, and embedded on a wall in the interior is that of an ascetic of one of these *santānams*, which again is wrongly identified as Śaṁkarāchārya. The right hand of this ascetic held in *chinmudra* touches the heart indicative of contemplation on the *Āṭma liṅga* and there is a *daṇda* also. The pose is certainly too odd to be associated with Śaṁkarāchārya.

While hundreds of inscriptions during the centuries of Chōḷa rule refer to endowments to Śiva yōgins, there is hardly one referring to Advaita sanyasins. It

was only in the eighteenth century that the Upanishad Brahmendra maṭh, "the first Advaita maṭh in the South", was founded in Kāñchī. The Vijayanagar penetration and the pioneering efforts of Vidyāraṇya to multiply maṭhs were responsible for the flow of Advaita sanyāsīns and scholars to the south. The efforts of Govinda Dikshitar, known as *Advaita Sthāpanachārya* hastened the process.

A small but important detail to be remembered: the daṇḍa of an Advaita sanyāsin of the Śaṁkara order must be of the height of the person who carries it *(pādādhimastaka pramāṇam)* and of the thickness of the thumb or one of the prescribed fingers. A shorter daṇḍa marks a different persuasion not any of Śaṁkara's.

We may digress to consider a sculpture in the *manḍapam* near the Nāchiyar (Dēvī) shrine in the Varadarāja temple in Vishṇu Kāñchī. The figure occurs in two different but adjacent panels; in one of which it is unattended while in the other it has an attendant. It has been erroneously said that the latter panel represents Vyāsa (seated) and Śaṁkara (standing); an expression of humility is writ large on the face of the latter. It should be apparent that, in an age of sectarian animosities when Vaishṇava āchāryas were having the upper hand in the court of the Āraviḍu emperors of Vijayanagar and in those of their subordinate chiefs, and when the polarisation of the two sects had developed unhealthy features the builders of a *manḍapa* in an important Vaishṇava shrine under the influence of a

line of *jīyars* (heads of Vaishṇava maṭhs) would never think of engraving the figures of Vyāsa and Saṁkara. The plump seated figure with *śikha* and *yajñōpavita* represents a *jīyar* who can easily be identified as Aḷagiya maṇavāḷar, who is mentioned as *śrikāryam* (manager) of the Vishṇu temple.[5] In another inscription[6] he is extolled as 'the builder of several *prākārams* and *maṇḍapams* and as a great *yati*, the ornament of Kāñchi, in whose mind which is full of the nectar of *Śribhāshya* (Rāmānuja's *bhāshya*) Mādhava is ever sporting'.[7] He was an outstanding personality and wielded influence in the Tirupati-Tirumalai temples. The veteran scholar Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyaṅgār and Yatirāja Jīyar, the director of temple affairs (*Periya Kōyil kēlvi*) in the Tirumalai temple were his disciples. The monastery in Kāñchi over which he presided continued up to the eighteenth century. What can be more appropriate than to represent this *jīyar* in relief in one of the *maṇḍapams* he had erected. In the panel he is represented with lobed ears and as wearing *yajñōpavīta* and a rosary of rounded *tulasi* beads. He has a book in his left hand and in the right hand displays the *sūchi mudra*, signifying command and warning. He wears a detachable head gear, the strands of which, usually stuffed with a silk covering, are worked into a definite pattern. It is too sophisticated to be mistaken for matted locks of natural hair bound together on top. A shorter length of this kind of material is wound round the head during certain rituals in Vishṇu temples - a practice which continues to the present day.

The standing figure must be Śankaradāsa, a devotee of the *jīyar* who under his master's commands erected a *maṇḍapam*. Śankaradāsa belongs to a family, who were originally officers under the Gajapati, but later transferred their allegiance to Krishṇadēva Rāya. He donated his fief to the Tirumalai temple and became the *jīyar's* disciple. The stout short stick-baton, to be more precise, with a piece of ochre cloth tied on top probably marks the insignia of the priestly authority of his master.[9]

In his elaborate and fascinating description of Kāmakōṭṭam in the *Tirukkuṛipputtoṇḍar purāṇam* Sēkkiḻār does not mention any statue of Śaṁkara because there was none in the temple when he wrote the *purāṇam*.

The only idol that Sēkkilār mentions other than Kāmākshi is Śāstā[10]. There seems to have been no other idol in this temple in his time.

Suvarṇa Kāmākshī, now worshipped in a temple in Tañjāvūr was formerly the *utsava mūṛti* in the Kāñchī temple. One of the names of this deity, according to the temple legend, is Dharmadēvī. This idol stands in the *tribhaṅga* pose, the left hand is hanging loose while the right carries a flower or bud. Suvarṇa (Baṅgāru) Kāmākshī is the metallic counterpart of Dharmadēvī now installed in Jina Kāñchī after its removal from the Kāmakōṭṭam.

There is an interesting account relating to the removal of Suvarṇa Kāmākshī from Kāñchī to

Tañjāvūr. Kāñchī passed through troublous times during the closing decades of the 17th century. "The authorities of the pagodas (of Ēkaṁrēśvara, Kāmākshī and Varadarāja)....... determined to protect the idols from their apprehended desecration by the fanatical zeal of the invader. They were accordingly conveyed away disguised as corpses and, followed by funeral processions, were carried off to the Uḍayārpālayam jungles in the Tanjore[11] District. The image of Kāmākshī was of gold and is said to have been taken possession of by the Rāja of Tanjore".[12] The sequel to this event which Charles Stewart Crole describes was:—"In compliance with an order of Śrinivāsā alias Attān Tiruvēṅgaṇa Rāmānuja Jīyar, his pupil, the chieftain Rājā Śri Lālā Tōḍarmalla brought back the idols of Varadarāja and his consorts from Uḍayārpāḷayam and set them up in the temple at Kāñchī".[13] The Śaiva idols were brought back by Śellam Bhaṭṭar. Dakshiṇāmūṛti Sāstri, the chief priest in charge of Suvarṇa Kāmākshī, first took the idol to Jiñji, before it was taken to Uḍayārpāḷayam where the local chief offered all facilities for its regular worship and made a land grant. Dakshiṇāmūṛti Śāstri's son Aiyā Śāstri and some others later took the idol to Aṇakkuḍi, then to Nagore and Śikkil before it reached Tiruvārūr where it was kept in worship for some years. The chief priest then was Vēnkaṭādri. In 1763 was born his grandson Vēnkaṭasubrahmaṇyan renowned as Śāmā Śāstri, the great musician and composer. In 1781 when Śāmā Śāstri was eighteen years old, his father Viśvanātha removed the idol to Tañjāvūr at the earnest solicitation of

Rājā Tuljāji (1763–87) and finally installed it in its present temple in the west main street. The transit of this idol from place to place till it reached its present destination and the meticulous care bestowed on its protection and uninterrupted worship are admirable feats that do credit to the resourcefulness and devotion to duty of the priests.

The sculpture that people in their ignorance call Tapas Kāmākshī (Kāmākshī in the posture of doing penance), whose left leg is firmly placed while the right leg is tucked up so that the heel may press the navel, left hand in the *lōla* pose and right hand raised above the head, is that of a yōginī. This figure of a yōginī with the accessories of worship is an improvement upon the figure of a Jain yōginī depicted in different poses of adoration in the *gōpuram* of the Vardhamāna temple in Tiruparuttikuṇṛam — it is that of Agnīlā doing penance before she became Dharmadēvī or Ambikā [14]

The *liṅga* (Kāśī Viśvanātha) in the *prākāra* of this temple is said to have been installed by Liṅgappa, a rent collector under the Government of the Sultan of Gōlcoṇḍa.

What is described as Arūpa Lakshmī is a disfigured sculpture of Jyeshṭhā Dēvī marked by a groove cut vertically from the face down to the folded legs. There is a curious practice in this temple. Worshippers who get the *Kumkuma prasādam* in the Kāmākshī shrine throw it on the lap of this Jyeshṭhā, then collect it and mark the forehead with it. This

is a relic — perhaps the only lingering instance — of an old ritual of getting *prasādam* from the lap of Jyeshṭhā which Āḻvār Toṇḍaraḍipoḍi condemned.[15] Vārāhī belongs to both the Jaina and Śaktā pantheons. She is one of the Saptamātṛkā group, and in a temple of Lalitā (Kāmākshī's aspect in this temple) she is an important *parivāra* goddess. The other equally important *parivāra* goddess is Mātaṅgi or Śyāmalā represented by the eight-armed statue in an adjoining cella. Annapūrna and Lakshmi are also represented among the *parivāra* deities, and the eight armed Syāmalā serves as Sarasvatī also. These are all late sculptures. Bhairava and Mahishamardinī are the prominent sculptures exhibited in the shrines attached to the eastern *gōpuram*.

The idol of Vishṇu[16] in the inner *prākāra* originally belonged to Kaḷvanār temple in Kāñchī, now, ruined. The idol is called Kaḷvar and was deposited in this temple. A modern three-storeyed structure overlooking the tank enshrines a different form of Vishṇu on each floor.

NOTES

1. P. R. Srinivasan: *Op. cit*; also *Banddhalakshaṇa Vidhanam.*

2. *A. R. E.* 286 of 1955-56

3. There is little need to point out that temples in the South called *Kāyārōhana* are associated with the Lākuliśa cult.

4. *Siruttonḍa Nāyanār Purāṇam* (VV 25 to 35) and *Mānakkañjāra Nāyanār Purāṇam* (VV. 22 to 25).

5. *A. R. E.* 495 of 1919 dated S. 1475 (A. D. 1553)

6. *A. R. E.* 13 of 1921

7. श्रीभाष्यामृतपूरपूरितमनःपद्मोल्लसन्माधवः
श्रीकाञ्चीपुरभूषणैर्यतिवरैः ... ...

8. वेदान्तद्वयतत्त्वबोधमुदितै[:]
श्रीरम्यजामातृभिः
आज्ञप्तेन च धर्मविग्रहवता
संकल्पिते मण्टपे ।
श्रीमच्छङ्करदासनामविलसत्
भक्तेन काञ्चीपुरे
... ...

9. References to Aḻagiya Maṇavāla Jiyar and Saṁkaradāsa :— *S. I T. I.* 432 and *T. T. D. Inscriptions* — pp. 47, 206, 276, 432; *T. T.* 3, 104, 402, 410, 509, 628; *G. T.* 24, 26 etc. (Published by Sadhu Subramania Sastri, Devastanam Archaeologist, 1930).

10. cf கச்சிவளைக் கைச்சி காமகோட்டங்
காவன் மெச்சி இனிது இருக்கும்
மெய்ச்சாத்தான் கைச்செண்டு.
... ... *(anon) Op. cit.*

11. Uḍayārpālayam is now included in the Tiruchirāpalli District.

12. Charles Stewart Crole's report : Later reproduced in a G. O , Home and Education Department.

13. *A. R. E.* 639 of 1919 dated Ś. 1632, *Virōdhi Phālgun. Bhādrapada* (A. D. 1710),

14. See Plate XXX. T. N. Ramachandran : *Op. cit.*

15. கேட்டீரே நம்பி மீர்காள் !
கெருட வாகனன் நிற்க,
சேட்டைதன் மடி யகத்துச்
செல்வம் பார்த்திருக்கின் றீரே !
(Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi : *Tirumālai 10*).

The Saptamātṛkā and Jyēsṭhā cults were much in vogue till the 12th century after which they fell into desuetude. (See K. R. Srinivasan : *Op. cit.*). Sculptural vestiges of these cults are seen in the old Kāmākshī temple .

16. *Pāśuram* No. 4 of Tirumaṅgai's *Tiruneḍunṭāṇḍakam* is an omnibus invocation to Vishṇu enshrined in seven temples in Kāñchī. Two of them, those of Ūrakam (Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ temple) and Veḥkā are now in worship and are flourishing. The rest have been completely ruined and the principal idols that were in them are now housed in the neighbouring temples ; those of Kārakam, Kārvaṇam and Nīrakam in the *prākāra* of the Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ (Ūrakam) temple, that of Nīlāttiṅgaḷtuṇḍam in the *prākāra* of the Ēkāmranātha temple and Kaḷvar of Kaḷvanūr in the Kāmākshī Amman temple. The idol of Vēḷukkai is now left uncared, half immersed in an irrigation tank.

* * *

During the Chōḷa times sculptures of Āḷvārs and other Vaishṇava āchāryas and of Nāyanārs and other Śaiva āchāryas were installed in temples. The icons of the Śaiva saints are found sculptured in the Airāvatēśvara temple in Dārāsuram built by Chola Rāja Raja II (1146-68). Those of Lakulīsa and of the āchāryas of his sect were in worship from much earlier times. Perhaps the earliest known representations of Śaṁkara are found in an inscribed stele and on the panels of the Vidyā Śaṁkara temple (14th century) in Śriṅgērī but none of these were worshipped. There is no evidence from epigraphy or literature of the installation of Śaṁkara's image for worship till very recent times. There is a late sculpture of Vidyāraṇya in Hampi. The Idol of Śaṁkara in the Ādiputiśvara temple at Tiruvoṟriyur was set up very recently. The consecration of Śaṁkara's statues is a recent development, perhaps two centuries old, to make the devotees 'Śaṁkara conscious' and kindle devotion to the Master. The memory of an advaita saint or āchārya is usually honoured by installing a *liṅga* or growing a *bilva* tree or *tulsi* plant over his *samādhi.*

*　　　*　　　*

The Vardhamāna temple in Tiruparuttikuṇṛam must have come into existence late in the 11th century roughly corresponding to the period of the rise of the present Kāmākshī temple. Of Chōḷa origin, this temple was considerably enlarged during the Vijayanagar period and gradually enriched with statues collected from the dilapidated Jain temples in Kāñchī, including the present Kāmākshī temple. Tiruparuttikkuṇṛam, which then became the centre of Jain faith, came to be known as Jina Kāñchī. We find this name mentioned, for perhaps the first time, in the inscriptions of Rāja Rāja III. "The shrine dedicated to Dharmadēvī, the Yakshi of Nēminatha, is situated to the south of the Vardhamāna shrine and is totally different from the other two shrines, in that it is very small and square instead of being apsidal. According to local traditions the image of Dharmadēvī appears to have been introduced into this temple, according to one version, in the thirteenth century A. D. from the Kāmākshī temple at Conjeevaram, and according to another in the ninth century soon after Śaṅkarāchārya established the Kāmakōti pīṭha in the Kāmākshī temple, both versions regarding Kāmākshī temple as having originally been a Jaina shrine dedicated to Dharmadēvī, the Yakshi of Nēmināthа...... Little care seems to have been bestowed upon the small shrine in which the image is housed, nor have any of the adjoining shrines been used as its model. Like them however it is of brick. It has been joined to the Vardhamāna-*ardhamaṇḍapa* by making a very narrow opening on its west wall".

(T. N. Ramachandran *op. cit.* pp. 19–26)

(10)

The movement of clans and families of Brahmins, including *bhaṭṭars* or priests, āchāryas and sanyāsis started at different periods much anterior to the time of Rāja Rāja Chōḷa I. The settlers in the south kept up contacts with Āryadēśa, Vārāṇasi, Gūrjaradēśa[1] and Kāshmīr.

The *Śiva* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* enumerate twenty-eight *avatāras* of Śiva. From Svētāchārya to Lakulīśa, each of these twenty-eight *avatāras* had four disciples, making up a total of one hundred and twenty eight āchāryas. The Kāḷāmukha section had two divisions, each with several sub-divisions. Their *paramparas* fanned out all over the land, and some of the monastic heads took the surname *Lakulīśa* to mark their affiliation to the founder of the cult. They exercised considerable influence over temples, and the maṭhs and in royal courts. Pāśupata was Āgamānta Śaivism with a considerable Āgama literature

The development of post-Saṁkara Śaivism in the north, especially in Kashmir, was marked by the dispersal of bands of āchāryas bent upon propagating their cult. Mayūranātha, named after his place of birth Mattamayūra (Kadwaha near Ranod in Gwalior), established several maṭhs, the āchāryas, of which could be distinguished by their name-endings–*Śiva* or *Śambhu*, while the Pāśupata name-ending continued to be *Rāśi*. The Kalachūris of Chēdi were their earliest disciples and at Bhērāghāt, near their capital Tripuri, there was erected a great hypethral temple to Gaṇapati and the sixty-four yōginīs. This temple which was circular (gōla) became the centre of the Mattamayūra clan of Śaivites. Acquiring 'three lakh' villages the clan took the designation *Lakshādhyāyi Bhikshā Maṭha* or *Gōlaki Maṭha*. To Āgamic rituals the Lakshādhyāyis added vaidik and smārtha rituals, and their studies included *Uttara-mīmāmsa* or *Vedānta*. Wherever they went they

established maṭhs and temples, *satras* or feeding houses, *Vyākhyāna śālas* or halls for discourses and flower gardens. Some of their portrait sculptures represent them as meditating on the heart centre with the right hand fingers displaying the *chinmudra* and pressed against the heart. From the Dahala country (Chēdi) they spread over the Rāḍha country (Varēndra in Bengal), Kaliṅga, Andhra and the Tamil country and Kerala They were the Rājagurus of the Kākatīya, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Karnāṭaka kings. In the Tamil inseriptions they are mentioned with the honorific titles of *Śvāmidēvar* and *Mudaliyār*. It is interesting to note that during the same period they were Rājagurus to the kings of Kambuja (Comoodia). The Lakshādhyāyis trace their *guruparampara* to Dūrvāsas and call their lineage *Dūrvāsaparampara*. We have made mention of the existence of a sculpture of Dūrvāsas in the present Kāmākshī temple at Kāñchī.

A line of the Śākta section of the Lakshādhyāyi āchāryas was associated with the Dēvī temples while the Śaivite line was associated with the Śiva temples [2] in and around Kāñchī.

Tradition speaks of the settlement in Kāñchī of thirty families from the Narmadā valley; ten of *Kauṇḍinya gōtra*, ten of *Kauśika gōtra*, and ten of *Paurukutsa gōtra*, who were all adepts in the Vaidik and Āgama lores. Fifteen of these families were grouped under the *Ashtasahasra* sub-clan [3] and the rest under the *Vaḍama* sub-clan, and they came to be known as the *Kāmakōṭṭiyār*. Later several of these

families left Kāñchī and settled in the Telugu and Tamil Districts.[4]

Over the centuries the Vaḍama Kāmakōṭṭiyār were the *tānattār (stānattār* or *sthānikas)* of the Kāmākshī temples. The temple properties were vested in them and they had the sole right of receiving or making grants. They exercised control over an army of temple servants and regulated the performance of the *sandhis* or 'divine services'. Their authority was subjected to periodical inquests by royal officers, sometimes by the king himself, into the management and affairs of the temple. An inscription,[5] recorded during Kampaṇa's administration, states that the tānnatār conferred the *kāval kāṇiyātchi* (right of watchmanship) on one Vijayiṅgīdēvar. In another case[6] they ratified a similar right previously bestowed on one Aḻagiya Tiruchchiṟṟambala Uḍaiyār. A gift of villages[7] for food offerings was made to the tānattār by Krishṇama Nāyakar to secure merit for Krishṇadēva Rāya. Another gift[8] to the Goddess was entrusted to Kāmakoḍi Bhaṭṭar and Kambattār, both tānattār; Kambattār's, son Poreṟṟu Nāyanār, figures as the donee in a grant[9] by Rāma Bhaṭṭar to secure merit for Achyuta Rāya. Gifts of villages by Narasappa Nāyakar and Rāma Rāja Chinna Tirumalaiya Dēvar of Avukkai (Auk) to the tānattār Poreṟṟu to secure merit for Sadāśiva Rāya are recorded in two inscriptions.[10] A record[11] dated 1584 in the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya I mentions that the tānattār gave lands to several people in exchange for those already received as *archanā vṛitti*. A royal

order[12] by Dēvarāya restrained the officers from misappropriating the temple properties (administered by the tānattār).

The grantee in the Uḍayārpāḷayam grant[13] was tānattār Dakshiṇāmūrti Sāstri, a descendant of Tiruvēkambabhaṭṭa mentioned in some earlier inscriptions. One branch of his descendants continued in Kāñchī, and another settled in Tañjāvūr to manage the affairs of the Suvarṇa Kāmākshī temple there. We learn from the records that in 1837 Aṇṇākuṭṭi Sāstri, Subbarāya Sāstri and Nīlakaṇṭha Aruṇāchala Sāstri were the tānattār.

Under Regulation VII of 1817 of the East India Company "the temples were placed under the charge of the Board of Revenue who managed them through the Collectors, but subsequently this responsibility ceased; and the pagodas were made over to the care of committees, to whom or to their assignees the fixed allowances made by Government were now paid ......".[14] Since this system also led to mismanagement, the Madras Government constituted the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Administration Department (H. R and C. E. Adm.) and passed several acts to regulate its working. This department now controls the temples.

To revert to Kāñchī; While in 1842 committees were appointed to manage the Ēkāmranātha and Varadarāja temples, the present Kāmākshī temple alone was entrusted at his request to the management of the 'Saṅkarāchārya of Kumbakonam'. In one of

the communications on the subject the following statement appears: Name of Pagoda—Camatchy Umman; Name of Trustees-Sankaracharya; Occupation-Priest of the Mathum of the religion to which the Pagoda belongs. The trusteeship was created with a stipulation "restricting the power to alienate, transfer, or otherwise dispose of any part of the property, movable or immovable, and to alienate or transfer the trust and subject to the furnishing of security". The Saṁkarāchārya took over in January 1843. The tānattār appealed in vain (16—12—1842) against the order alleging that 'the Sankarāchāriar is in no way connected with this church, is an entire stranger to the country, an inhabitant of Cumbakonam in the Tanjore Zillah".

Previous to this arrangement this Saṁkarāchārya had requested Government to be allowed to perform the *kumbhābhishēkam* of the temple, which he did in 1839. This event he caused to be engraved on stone.[15]

After about a century, the present Āchārya resigned the trusteeship. In 1960[16] the H. R. and C. E. Department again appointed "Śrī Kāñchī Kāmakōti Peethadhipati[17] Jagadguru Śrī Saṁkarāchārya Swāmi Mutt", trustee to administer the temple and its properties with an Executive Officer invested with the powers conferable on him by the provisions of the Act".

NOTES

1. *A. R. E.* 346 of 1954-55.

2. In the Tamil edition of *Kāmākshīlīlāprabhāvam*, the translator K. A. Alalasundaram Pillai acknowledges the help that

he received from Bhairava Śivāchārya, a descendant of Pañchākshara Śivāchārya of the *Gōlaki math.* The book was published in 1906.

Vibhāgaratnākarā (Ms. No. R. 1739 in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library) traces the history of some Brahmin families from Mandaraka on the Ganga who settled in Kāñchīmaṇḍalam.

It may be interesting to note here that the current use of the honorific prefix *Śrī-La-Śrī* (ஸ்ரீலஸ்ரீ) to the diksha names of some Tamil Śaiva pontiffs is reminiscent of the Lakshādyāyi Santānam—the letter *La* between the two *Śrī*'s standing as an abbreviation for Lakshādyāyi. The Akhilaṇḍēśvari temple in Jambukēśvaram (Tiruvānaikāval) was for long under the Gōlaki or Lakshādhyāyi Santānam as part of the Akhilaṇḍēśvari-tirumaḍam.

3. The late Sēshādri Svami, who was universally revered as a *siddhapurusha*, belonged to the *ashṭasahasra* sub-clan of Kāmakōṭṭiyār.

Even today one branch of this sub-clan is called the Attiyūr (or Kāñci) group, and another the Aruvāppāḍi group,

4. In a learned review in 'the Hindu' of Madras dated Jan. 8, 1967, of a copper plate grant discovered at Mallavaram dated 1116 when Parāntaka was viceroy of Veṅgi in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, N Ramesan draws pointed attention to a Brahmin from Kāñchī called Kāmakōṭi Sahasra who, along, with some others, evidently from such places as Srirangam, Kumbakōnam and Tirupati, figures as a donee Kāmakōti Sahasra must be one of those who, leaving Kāñchī, settled in Andhra lured by the gifts of the rulers there.

5. *A. R. E.* 331 of 1954-55. The Tamil form *tānattār* is used in preference to the Saṁskrit form.

6 *A. R. E.* 326 and 327 of 1954-55.

7. *A. R. E.* 344 of 1954-55.

8. *A. R. E.* 335 of 1954–55.
9. *A. R. E.* 321 of 1954–55.
10. *A. R. E.* 322 and 341 of 1954–55.
11. *A. R. E.* 342 of 1954–55.
12. *A. R. E* 313 of 1954-45.
13. dated August 30, 1784.
14. Charles Strewart Crole's Report.
15. noticed in *A. R. E.* No. 339 of 1954–55.
16. Order O. A. No. 33/60. April 9, 1960.
17. 'The Saṁkarāchārya of Kumbakonam' has now assumed this style.

A short retrospect is now necessary.

Kāmakōṭṭam is purely a Tamil tradition, and the construction of Dēvī shrines inside the Siva temples as part of the complex containing the benign forms of the Dēvī with local appellations (also by extension to Vishṇu temple complexes) came into general vogue from the 12th century in the Tamil country and it spread to the peripheral regions which came under its influence particularly during the Vijayanagar and later times, when much of South India was under a single rule. Though Kāmakōṭṭam was first mentioned in 1035, in the reign of Rājēndrachōḷa I, in the great temple built by him in Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, he, perhaps, did not put up a separate *Vimānam*. Atleast there are no traces of one having been built. The central *Vimānam* is flanked by two lesser *Vimānams* the Uttara and the Dakshiṇa-Kailasa shrines. At a much later time was the former converted into a Dēvī shrine. Nor did he build a Tiru-Kāmakōṭṭam in the Ādipurīśvara temple in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr which he rebuilt

in stone. Nor again did the Śivāchāriar, who built in his honour the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷīśvaram temple in Kūḷampandal, build a Tirukāmakōṭṭam. The process of providing Kāmakoṭṭams to all the shrines in the South which began after him continued till the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

In its earliest application Kāmakōṭṭam referred to independent Durgā shrines as at Kāñchī and Śāttamaṅgalam. It is rather noteworthy that the Tamil concept of Kāmakōṭṭam (that is Dēvī shrines attached to Śiva and Vishṇu temples) has not even today spread into Kērala where the original Bhagavatī cult along with that of Śāstā prevails. In Kērala again along with the Bhagavatī cult, the Saptamātṛkā cult also prevails as one could always see the seven pedestals disposed in the open court (முற்றம்—நடை) round the sanctum of the Śiva temple representing the 'Seven Mothers or Śaktis'. These take the place of their sculptural representations, which were prevalent in the Tamil country till early Chōḷa times (11th century) and in the Chāḷukyan temples from early times till about the 12th century. Hailing from Kērala, Saṁkara, when he came to Kāñchīmaṇḍalam where the worship of Durgā under different names and in different forms prevailed, must have been attracted by the original Śākta Kāmakōṭṭam or Durgā temple that had then come into existence in Kāñchī (the equivalent of the Bhagavtī temple of Kērala) where obviously he installed the *yantra*. Perhaps in the original Durgā form, the Ādi Pīṭhēśvari was associated with the Mātṛkaṣ and Jyēshṭhā, and this

must have led to the incorporation of some of these sculptures, amongst others like Śāstā, in the present Kāmākshī temple.

Judging from the various associated objects— vestiges of the Buddhist, Jain and even Ājīvika cults, the present temple complex must have incorporated into it the debris of old temples of these sects—for example the Buddha images in the round, Buddhist reliefs on the pillars, the *Mānastambha* with Brahmadēva Yaksha, which still stands *in situ* and the Jain sculptures.

The Kāñchī Kāmakōṭṭam (old and new) is unique in that it has only one sanctum and only *one mūlabhēra*—and that for the Dēvī; and this necessitated the formulation of a distinct code of rituals—different from what is adopted in the Amman shrines within the Śiva temple complex elsewhere which are largely governed by Śaiva Āgamas. Vidyāraṇya in the 14th century standardised the *Dēvīpūjā paddhati* when associated with the *Śri Chakra.* Adepts in the succeeding centuries elaborated the *kalpas* and *paddhatis* with long commentaries, and the worship of Rāja Rājēśvarī Lalitā Tripurasundarī became the norm for *Śrī Vidyā sādhana*. The new Kāmākshī temple, enshrining Kāmākshī in the aspect of Lalitā, naturally evolved a *paddhati* of its own much in conformity with Śrī Vidyā sādhana. The worship is threefold; the highest is the worship of the Dēvī in the *hṛdayākāśa*, worship in Her formless aspect in the region of the heart; the next is the worship of Her subtle form represented by the *chakra*; and the third

is the worship of the image in Her gross anthropomorphic form. In the sanctum of this temple is conceived a *bilākāśa*, 'the ethereal abode in a cave', and there are the *chakra* and the idol—all these constitute the three aspects. The *maṇḍapa* in front of the sanctum has been named the Gāyatri maṇḍapa and the essential *parivāra* (subsidiary) deities of Lalitā such as Vārāhī, Mātaṅgī, Sarasvatī, Lakshmī and Annapūrṇā were provided. The evolution of the temple, particularly from the 16th century when Narasimhādhvari installed the *Śrī chakra*, kept pace with the growing ritualistic requirements.

*   *   *

The ancient temples in Vārāṇasī, Mathurā and other holy places, all citadels of our faith, were demolished by iconoclasts, and the new temples that have been re-built by princes and princesses and other enlightened philanthropists are now held in no less reverence. Temples in Mangalore, Nagercoil and the Ārāmas in Āndhra, originally temples of the 'heterodox' sects are now Hindu temples and are worshipped with reverence. It does not detract either from the sanctity or the importance of a temple that it is either of recent growth or has been transformed into its present character as a Hindu place of worship. "A block of granite chiselled into an idol becomes by proper *saṁskāra* Śiva Himself capable of conferring worldly boons and deliverance at the end".

(पाषाणश्शिवसंस्कारात् भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदो भवेत् ।
पाषाणश्शिवतां याति ... ... ॥)

Will not then a sculpture irrespective of the fact that it once represented a deity of another pantheon become worthy of worship as a Hindu god or goddess after the proper *saṁskāra* has been made by adepts in Vaidik or Āgamic rituals? All that is required of the worshipper is the proper approach with faith and devotion.

* * *

The worshipper, while passing through the halls and corridors of a temple progressively leaves behind the perception of this world of flux (Māya), and standing before the sanctum experiences the grace of the deity and has the vision of the 'Unchanging Reality'. This is the significance of temple worship. This mystic truth, the two Dēvī temples in Kāñchī convey with an unmistakable clarity, but with a slight change in the idiom.

Kāmākshī — Ādi Pīṭhēśvari — Durgā is the all-pervading Mother of the Universe; hence She assumes a dark-blue colour. The *pāśa* (noose) and the *aṁkuśa* (goad) that She carries in two of Her hands symbolise the forces of attraction and repulsion that underlie the universe of phenomena, and also for attachment and hate in individuals. The *kapāla* is said to be the *prapañcha kamala*, the "lotus of the universe", and stands for the *samashṭi* or aggregate of the universe.

The Sovereign Matrix, that Kāmākshī—Lalita is, She disports with the sugarcane bow and five arrows, the former representing the mind (cosmic and individual) and the latter, the *tanmātras*—the five

primordial bases of the world of senses, which together denote the categories, diverse (*vyashṭi*) in their function. The Mother in Her grace releases the Jīva from the meshes of these categories; and then Jīva becomes Siva.

"No more for him, the gifted 'knower of the Truth', who meditates upon the pāśa and aṁkuśa in the Mother's hands, the bonds of attachment and hate. No more for him, who meditates on the bow and arrows, which the Mother displays, the blind fall into the treacherous depths of sense-experiences".

पाशांकुशौ तव करे परिचिन्त्य राग-
द्वेषौ जयन्ति परमार्थविदस्तु धन्याः ।
एकत्र चापमितरत्र शरं च मत्वा
व्यावर्तयन्ति हृदयं विषयान्धकूपात् ।। – नीलकण्ठदीक्षितः

NOTES

When Kāmakōṭṭams were provided to temples all over the south, adepts installed in several temples *Yantras* in the Dēvī sanctums or adjoining them. The old Durgā or Kālī temples which were not made *saumya*, and to which Āgamic or Vedic *Kalpas* (or modes of worship) were either discontinued or not prescribed at all, continued to be worshipped as *grāmadēvatās*, such as Piḍārī, Jakkamma, Yakshamma, Ellaiyāmman, Ponniamman, Aṅgāḷamman, Gaṅgamma, Māramma, Māriyamman, Śelliyammāl or Śellāyī (from *S'elvi* meaning *sister* — the sister of Vishṇu — a concept as old as the Saṅgam period in Tamilnadu) etc. Inscriptions furnish numerous instances of such temples receiving royal and private grants. Of particular interest is a very long inscription of Vīrarājēndra Chōḷa from Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, recording in detail, the royal orders of his predecessors, Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra I regarding lands in different parts of the empire granted to both Vishṇu and Śiva temples. Significantly enough were included temples of Kālī, Durgā etc., not neglecting those to Aiyanār.

ADDENDA

A new look at the chronology of the Nāyanārs is necessary to enable us to determine the approximate date of the origin of the old Kāmakoṭṭam (Ādi Pīṭheśvarī temple). Our main sources are the *Tēvāram* hymns and Śekkiḻār's *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* (*Periya Purāṇam*).

The fancied identity of *Guṇabharan*, a title of Pallava Mahendravarman I, with *Guṇadhara* in the name *Guṇadharīchchuram* of the sanctum of the Śiva temple in Tiruvadigai (Śekkiḻār's *Periyapurāṇam*, Tiru Nāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam, verses 115–146) has conjured up a whole sequence of conclusions that are held sacrosanct. Publishers of repute have, in the recent editions of the text of Śēkkiḻār, printed *Guṇabhara* correcting the old form *Guṇadhara*.

The place where Maruṇīkki — the original name of Appar — was tortured for his apostasy from the Jain faith was the coastal town of Tiruppādirippuliyūr (Tiruppāpuliyur - Cuddalore) which included Pāṭalīpuram with its Jain monasteries. Maruṇīkki was tortured in several ways and was finally thrown into the sea, but he was miraculously washed ashore in that part of the town which now bears the significant name of *Karai-ēṟa-viṭṭakuppam*. If the person who ordered the tortures was Mahēndravarman it could hardly be believed that he came from his capital and, camping at Pāṭalīpuram, directed the whole operation to bring about the death of a humble Veḷḷāḷa boy.

Then the sequel: the ruler himself apostated from the Jain faith, to which allegedly he belonged, put all the Jains of the place to the sword, destroyed their *pallis* and, with their materials, built the sanctum of the Tiruvadigai temple which then came to be known as *Guṇadharīcchuram*.

Srinivasan very pertinently points out: "... based on what we know from architectural history of the South Indian temples, there could not have been a stone-built temple (*palli*) or a stone-built monastery (*pāli*) in Pāṭalīpuram in the time of Mahēndra I, but only brick-and-timber structures. Only a stone structure, when dismantled, can yield material for rebuilding elsewhere, and not a brick and timber structure, the dismantling of which will yield only useless debris". Inscriptional evidence points to the building of the sanctum in the Tiruvadigai temple only in A. D. 703. The ruler who had such an easy conscience must have been a feudatory belonging to the local Pallava branch, who bore the title *Guṇadhara* which means the same thing as *Guṇabhara*.

Śekkiḻār says that at the age of twelve, Tilakavatī, the sister of Maruṇīkki, was betrothed to Kaliyanār, and immediately after, even before the marriage was formally celebrated, Kaliyanār was ordered to the front to fight against the invading 'northerners'— the Chāḷukyas. The army of Pulakeśin II was turned back at Puḷḷalūr (c. 620). His second expedition was also a failure. The new Pallava ruler Narasimha varman I Mahāmalla led his victorious army to the Chāḷukya capital Bādāmi (Vātāpi) in 642. If it was

the first campaign that Kaliyanār fought in, Maruṇīkki would then have been in his teens, too young to have become the head of the Pāṭalīpuram *pāli* and subsequently converted the ruler. If it was the Bādāmi expedition of 642, he would have been a boy born after the death of Mahēndravarman in 630.

Kaliyanār could not have fought in either of these two campaigns. Between 670-74 Vikramāditya I marched from his camp near Kāñchī, carried the war *right into Tirumunai-p-pāḍi* country and fought his way successfully to the banks of the Kāvērī. This must have been the occasion for the ruler of Tirumunaippāḍi to send Kaliyanār to the war, and to his death. Tilakavatī was about 12 years of age then and her brother Maruṇīkki was younger. It will not be far from the mark if the year of Appar's (Maruṇīkki's) birth is taken as 665. He was not a contemporary of Mahēndravarman I as is commonly believed.

In pursuing the discussion, we shall have to keep in mind that Sambandar was an younger contemporary of Appar. When Appar met Sambandar at Sīrkāḻi soon after the latter's *upanayanam*, he was sufficiently advanced in age — திருமேனி தன்னில் அசைவு (Sēkkiḻār).

There are sufficient data to enable us roughly to fix Sambandar's date. We may say that he was born at the close of the 7th century about the time when Narasimhavarman II (Rājasimha) ascended the Pallava throne (700–728), and lived up to the middle of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign.

According to Śekkiḻār, General Parañjōti, who successfully led the Pallava forces and threatened Bādāmi (Vātāpi), retired (c. 680) from military service highly honoured by his sovereign, and retiring to his village Tiruchcheṅkāṭṭāṅguḍi, married and led the life of a model householder, worshipping Śiva and dispensing charity which earned for him the name of Śiṟuttoṇḍar. It should be apparent that before being admitted to the ranks of the elect, as a saint, Śiṟuttoṇḍar must have led, for several years, the life of a Śivanaḍiyār. At Pugalūr, he joined the company of Appar, Sambandar and other Nāyanārs who had gathered in the house of saint Muruganār. The saints' meet at Pugalūr may be placed in the first quarter of the 8th century.

Scholars are inclined to see in the statement நாட்டார் நடுவே நந்தனை (I. 63-11), in one of Sambandar's Sīrkāḻi *padigams* a reference to Pallava Nandi having established his rule among his own people நாட்டார் (after having overcome all the troubles of adversity caused by the civil wars).

Śēkkiḻār calls the Pāṇḍyan king whom Sambandar converted to the Śaiva faith, Neḍu Māṟan who 'vanquished the kings from the north'. The Pāṇḍya ruler was Māṟavarman Rājasimha, and his enemies from the north Kīrtivarman II and his feudatory Gaṅga Śrīpurusha both of whom he defeated at Nelvēli. Śēkkiḻār gives a lurid picture of the battle. (But Nelvēli is mentioned twice in the Udayēndiram copper plates recording success to the Pallava general).

And here a very brief sketch of events will provide the necessary background for understanding the data relating to Sambandar, from the Pāṇḍyan side.

When Chaḷukya Vikramāditya placed on the Kāñchī throne a rival in the person of Chitramāya, Pallavamalla flew from the capital and was restored to the throne by Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga (c. 745). Pallavamalla was later besieged in Nandipura by the 'Dramila princes' among whom was the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha (730–68). After vanquishing his rebellious chiefs and other foes at Koḍumbāḷūr and other places, Rājasimha was crossing the Kāvērī. Sambandar, who was then at Mukkīśvaram (Uṛaiyūr), blessed him and his Chōḷa and Chēra allies — (*Tennavan, Ś'embian* and *Villavan*-II, 120. 9 & 111). Rājasimha's queen was the daughter of the Chōḷa king. After crossing the river, the Pāṇḍya conquered Maḷakkoṅgam, the chief of which region—Kolli Maḷavan had previously entertained Sambandar.

When this particular phase of Pallava-Pāṇḍya confrontation ended, Rājasimha came under the influence of the Jains and in the words of Śēkkilār 'was caught in their wiles'. (மன்னனும் அவர்கள் மாயத்தழுந்த). At the pressing invitation of the queen and the minister, Sambandar went to Madurai, vanquished the Jains who had gathered in the palace, and restored the king to the Śaiva faith. Sambandar in his *padigam* (III : 39 : 4) mentions thirty-four Jains. Four of them are known to the inscriptions datable not earlier than the 8th century. They were Pushpa-

nandi, Kanakanandi, Kanakasēna and Pavananandi, all teachers of repute, from the South Pāṇḍya country.

The grateful Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍimādēvī and the minister took Sambandar on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines of the kingdom. At Tiruppūvanam (modern Tirubhuvanam) the three crowned kings (*Tennan, Śōlar* and *Śērar*) who had previously gathered at Uṟaiyūr, were again present, and Sambandar blessed them (1. 64. 1 & 5). The saint and his royal hosts visited Tirupparaṅkunṟam (I. 100–110). The Śiva shrine at the time of the visit was perhaps a brick built one at that place. (The cave-temple on the northern side of the hill was remodelled out of an earlier Jaina temple in 773 by a minister Śāttan Gaṇapati and his wife; the cave-temple on the southern side with sculptural reliefs of the Śaiva saints, the king and the queen on either flank of its facade was excavated later at the close of the eighth or commencement of the ninth century). Here also the three rulers were present and in a *padigam*, Sambandar exhorted them not to be misled by the Jains but to praise Śiva.

The epigraphical and architectural evidences relating to the first half of the 8th century add a new dimension to our inquiry.

After Madurai Sambandar returned to the Chōḷa country and at Bhūtamaṅgai, an old Buddhist settlement on the Kāvēri in Tañjāvūr District, which attained greater importance after Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha built the 'Chīna Buddhist Vihāra' in Nāga-

paṭṭinam at the request of a Chinese ruler, two Buddhist teachers Buddhanandi and Chārubuddha had a controversy with Sambandar and were worsted.

Sambandar's pilgrimage to Kāñchī and other shrines in Toṇḍaināḍu up to Kāḷahasti was perhaps the last of his long tours.

Appar learned of Sambandar's exploits in Madurai and visited the Pāṇḍya country; the ruler afforded him all facilities to visit the shrines that Sambandar had visited. An excerpt from his Rāmēśvara *padigam* - எழிலார் இராசசிங்கத்தை இராமேச்சுரத்தெம் எழிலேற்ற - (IV 15-7) perhaps refers to the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha. Infirmity set in and the saint cultivated a deep sense of renunciation and passed away at a ripe old age.

The period of hundred years A D. 660-760 may be taken as marking the age of Appar - Sambandar.

It may safely be taken that Sundarar was born at the end of the 8th century and lived through most of the first half of the 9th century. Born in Nāvalūr in the Tirumunai-p-pāḍi country, Sundarar was brought up in his childhood in the palace of the local chief Naraśiṅgamunaiyaraiyar. The chief belonged to a family which continued to be famous till the time of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. The Milāḍu chief Meypporuḷ Nāyanār, ruler of the Chēdi country from his capital Tirukkōyilūr, was a contemporary of Sundarar; and so was Pugaḻttuṇai Nāyanār, who for his devoted services to a Śiva temple was canonized. It is tempting to identify him with Pugaḻttuṇaiviśaiyaraiyan, who

in the 12th year of Pallava Dantivarman (A. D. 808) redeemed a land mortgaged by the priests of the Pārthasārati temple in Tiruvallikkēṇi (Triplicane). It was not rare for Brahmins to become araiyars (local administrators or chiefs) and even military commanders. Iḍangali, chief of Koḍumbālūr, who is said to be an ancestor of Āditya I — probably the latter's maternal grandfather — was another contemporary Nāyanār (c 800).

For twenty years from his regnal year 21 to 49 (817–845) there is no inscription of Dantivarman, and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam had passed into the hands of the Telugu Chōḷa Śrīkaṇṭha of the Pottāppi family. He displayed the titles of *Toṇḍaiyār Kōn, Mayilaiyār Kōn,* etc. (Daḷavāypuram C. P.). According to Śēkkiḷār, Sundarar and his friend Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār were entertained at Madurai by the Pāṇḍya and his ally the Chōḷa. They were obviously Śrīmāṟa-Śrīvallabha whose alliance with Śrīkaṇṭha was cemented by dynastic marriages. Sundarar's Tirupparaṅkunṟam *padigam* also testifies to the visit. In this shrine, the saint says, were then present the three crowned monarchs–Pāṇḍya Śrīmāṟaśrīvallabha, Chōḷa Śrīkaṇṭha and the Chēramān (VII. 2–5 — முடியாலுல காண்ட மூவேந்தர் முன்னே).

This visit must have taken place after 820. This conclusion receives further support in Sreedhara Menon's latest book (*Survey of Kerala History*). He speaks of the second Chēra Empire under the dynasty of the Kulaśēkharas of Mahōdaya, of which the first ruler was Kulaśēkhara, the Vaishṇava Āḻvār

(c. 800–820) and the second ruler Rājaśēkharavarman (c. 820–44) whom he identifies with the Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār of Śēkkiḷār. The Vālapaḷḷi inscription, perhaps the oldest in Kerala, dated in the 12th year of Rājaśēkhara's reign, praises him with the title of Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka. The peculiarity of the record is that it begins with the invocation *Nama Śivāya* instead of the usual *Svastiśri*. This is an indication of the correctness of the identification since Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār is depicted in the *Purāṇa* as a devotee who had absolute faith in the efficacy of *Śivapañchākshari mantra*. The year 844 would mark the last year in the lives of Sundarar and Chēramān Perumāḷ, who together died at Tiruvañchikuḷam, and, in the language of the legend, flew to Kailāsa — an incident which formed the subject matter of temple murals in the succeeding centuries, particularly in the famous Rājarājēśvaram at Tanjāvūr, and which was commemorated by the installation of the statues of these two saints in the Tiruvañchikuḷam Śiva temple, even now in worship.

As Menon points out, Śaṁkara was a younger contemporary of Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār and an elder contemporary of Rājaśēkhara (Chēramān Perumāḷ).

In his Kōyil (Chidambaram) *padigam* Sundarar lays an imprecation on the Pallava's disloyal feudatories whom the 'Lord of Puliyūr Chiṟṟambalam will chastise'. This may refer to the troubles that Dantivarman had from disloyal chiefs which are indicated in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of his successor Nandivarman III who 'had to obtain his kingdom

with the prowess of his arm, killing many enemies in the battlefield'. மண்ணுலகம் காவல்பூண்ட உரிமை யாற் பல்லவர்க்குத் திறைகொடா மன்னவரை மறுக்கஞ் செய்யும் பெருமையார் புலியூர் சிற்றம்பலத் தெம்பெரு மானே. (VII-90-4)

Śēkkiḻār's *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam (Periya Purāṇam)* is a hagiology composed in charming verses. It is a useful source of history, but within limits. Śēkkiḻār's purpose in composing the *Purāṇam* is to wean his royal master Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50) from the pursuit of 'impious' literature like the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* and turn instead to the contemplation of the lives of Śaiva saints. For this purpose he introduced fanciful legends such as the genocide of Jains at Pāṭalipuram, and later at Madurai, deforming the queen of Kaḻaṛchingan, and the aerial flight of Sundarar and Chēramān to Kailāsa. In the foregoing inquiry, we have taken care to utilise only such incidents from Śēkkilār as could be related to known historical data.

The evidence of the archaeologist compels attention, especially when it is based upon a close study of the architectural features and the sculptures in relation to them. The proliferation of Purāṇic and Āgamic literature and the multiplication, side by side of creeds and rituals, introduced new gods and goddesses, not known to ancient Tamil literature and forms of religious worship. The new additions to the pantheon that have found plastic or mural representation in temples are lauded in the *Tēvāram*

and the Vaishṇava *Divyaprabandam* hymns. Srinivasan has brought out this synchronism pointing to the seventh century as the starting point. His conclusion points to the period 650-850 as the age of these three Nāyanārs and corroborates the other evidences examined above.

* * *

The juxtaposition of a Śākta shrine and a Jain shrine was very common in the past. The Pallavas (Mahēndravarman I and his successors) deliberately chose Jain places of importance to excavate their cave temples (e. g., Māmaṇḍūr, Dalavānūr, Sīyamaṅgaḷam, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi etc.,). And so did the Pāṇḍyas (e. g., Ānamalai, Tirupparankuṇṛam, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Nārttāmalai etc.,). Jain cave temples were converted into Śiva and Dēvī temples (e. g., Malaiyadikuruchi, Tirupparankuṇṛam, Lādankovil in Ānamalai and Pillayārpaṭṭi). In Kerala and in Kanyakumari and other districts in Tamilnadu, the same trend is noticeable. Yakshis Dharmadēvī, Kūshmāṇḍinī, Jvalāmālini etc., of the Jains are now Bhagavatī, worshipped in some cases by Nambūtiris and Pōttis. Still may be seen by their side reliefs of Tīrthaṅkaras. Tiruchāṛaṇaṭṭumalai near Chitrāl, Kallil near Perumbāvūr, Vaḷḷimalai (Chingleput District) are prominent examples. In the Kūḍalmāṇikkam (near Iriñjālakuḍa) temple the idol, now worshipped as Bharata, was according to tradition, formerly worshipped by Jains as their Bharatamuni. The hill called Aiyanārkovil hill in Kaḻugumalai (Tirunelveli District) has a large number of Jain images and inscriptions, of the 11th -

12th centuries, besides the natural cavern. On the hill called Bhagavatimalai north of Śiṅgikuḷam, the Bhagavatī temple was formerly dedicated to a Jaina deity as evidenced by the presence of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara in the inner shrine now called Gautama Rishi, and other mutilated Jaina images lying at the foot of the hill. That it was a Jaina temple till later Pāṇḍya times is confirmed by an inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya. In the Nāgarāja temple in Nāgercoil, Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara is now Ananta Āḻvār or Ādiśēsha of Vishṇu. The name *Kāvu* as a place dedicated to Bhagavatī or Śāstā in Kerala is remeniscent of the term *Kāval* (guardianship of a place) of Tamil literature and tradition (*cf*. Āriyan Kāvu — Āriyan is Sāstā or Aiyappan).

Another development also may be noted. Koṟṟavai of the ancient Tamils, who was worshipped with bloody sacrifices - including the chopping off by the devotee of his limbs ending with decapitating the head (called *navakaṇḍam*) – was later invested with a *saumya* or benevolent aspect, and invoked in the form of Ardhanārī, which is frequently met with in the hymns of Appar and Sambandar. This largely prepared the ground for Saṁkara's reform in temple worship.

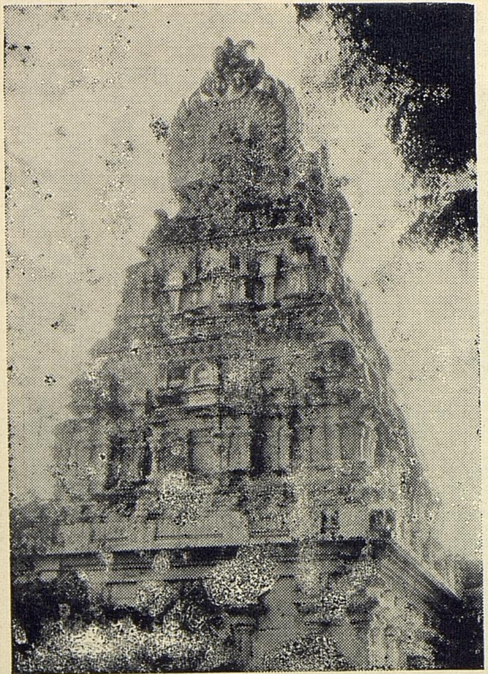

Plate I See page 76

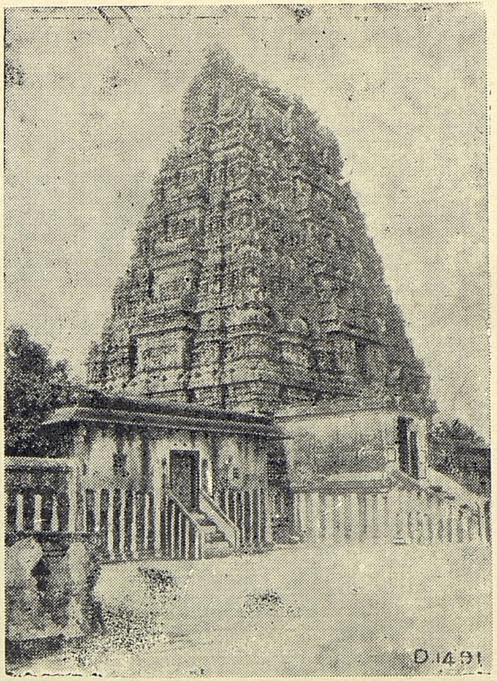

Plate II See page 76

Plate III

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Plate IV See page 76

Plate V See page 76

Plate VI See page 76

Plate VII

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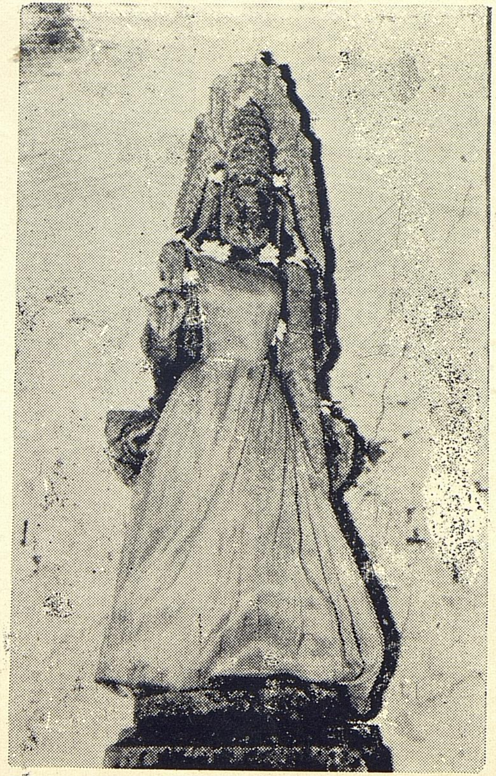

Plate VIII

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover : Vasantamaṇṭapam
(Photo : *Courtesy* — Archaeological Survey of India)

I. Gōpuram of the Ādi Pīṭhēśvarī Kāmākshī temple.

II. Eastern gōpuram of the new Kāmākshī temple
(Photos : I & II. *Courtesy* — Archaeological Survey of India)

III. Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar mistakenly called Ādi Saṁkara in *maṇḍapam* leading to Nāchīyār shrine in Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple, Kāñchī. *Courtesy*—Dr. K. V. Raman.

IV. An old Dēvī sculpture in the Ādi Pīṭhēśvarī Kāmākshī temple. (not in worship now) (Photo)

V. Ādi Pīṭhēśvarī Kāmākshī (with the receptacle for a Śrīchakra in front) (Photo)

VI. Kāmākshī in the present temple with the receptacle in front containing Śrīchakra.
(Painting : *Courtesy—Amuda Surabi*)
[V & VI are decked with conventional costumes and ornaments].

VII. Swarna Kāmākshī — (metal–now in Tañjāvūr)
(Painting : *Courtesy—Swadesamitran*)
[Also decked with conventional costumes and ornaments]

VIII. Dharma Dēvī — a much weathered granite sculpture, now in the Vardhamāna temple at Tiruparuttikunṛam.
(Photo : *Courtesy*—Mr. S. Appanda Raj, Trustee of the temple).
[VI & VII are as near an approximation to the original idols as paintings can be].